Aviators and the Academy: Early Aeronautics in Canada

Exhibition and catalogue by Jonathan B. Scotland & Edward P. Soye

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library
University of Toronto

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025 with funding from
University of Toronto

https://archive.org/details/aviatorsacademye00jona

Aviators and the Academy: Early Aeronautics in Canada

Exhibition and catalogue by
Jonathan B. Scotland & Edward P. Soye

THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

22 May – 4 September 2015

Catalogue and exhibition by Jonathan B. Scotland and Edward P. Soye
General editors Anne Dondertman and Loryl MacDonald
Exhibition installed by Linda Joy
Digital photography by Paul Armstrong
Catalogue designed by Junaid Ali
Catalogue printed by Harmony Publishing

Permissions:
Russell Smith. Spoils of War. Copyright c 2009. Used by permission of Russell Smith.

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Scotland, Jonathan B., 1983-, author
Aviators and the academy: early aeronautics in Canada / exhibition and catalogue by Jonathan B. Scotland & Edward P. Soye.

Catalogue of an exhibition held at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, 22 May to 4 September 2015.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 978-0-7727-6115-6 (paperback)

1. Aeronautics--Ontario--Toronto--History--20th century--Exhibitions. 2. Aeronautics--Canada--History--20th century--Exhibitions. 3. World War, 1914-1918--Education and the war--Exhibitions. 4. World War, 1914-1918-- Ontario--Toronto--Exhibitions. 5. University of Toronto--History--20th century--Exhibitions. I. Soye, Edward P., 1984-, author II. Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, issuing body, host institution

TL523.S36 2015 629.1309713'541 C2015-901643-6

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface 1

Introduction 7

A Literature of Aces 10

Wartime Aviation in Toronto 24

The Origins of the War Trophy Collection 32

Aerial Trophies in Canada 45

The Fate of War Trophies in Canada 65

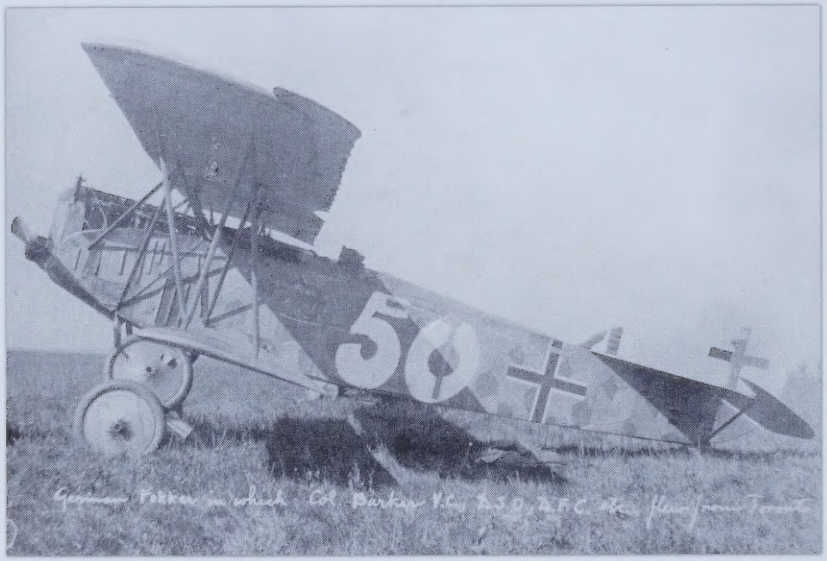
The Knowlton Fokker 77

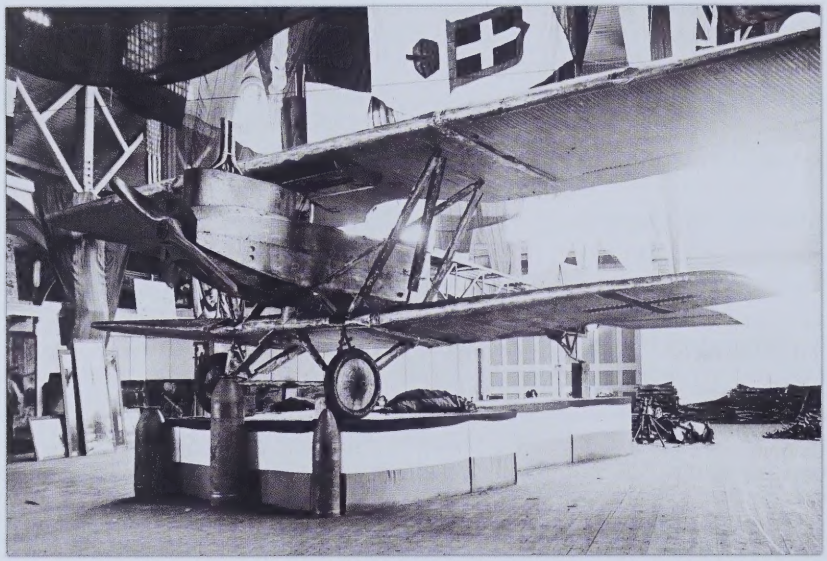
Artefacts, Official Histories and the Air Historical Branch 84

Conclusion 97

Abbreviations and Acronyms 102

Sources 103


50



PREFACE

Aviators and the Academy: Early Aeronautics in Canada compliments two recent exhibitions commemorating the First World War held at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. *'We Will Do Our Share': the University of Toronto and the Great War* documented the impact of the conflict on the University and its faculty, staff, and students. *Fierce Imaginings: the First World War in Text and Image* highlighted some of the most important and interesting works of literature written about the "war to end all wars".

Jonathan Scotland and Edward Soye in *Aviators and the Academy: Early Aeronautics in Canada* focus on a very different aspect of the Great War - aviation and the 1919 Victory Year celebrations. Jonathan and Edward draw on a variety of largely untapped historical sources - books, archival documents, photographs, art, and artefacts - from the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, the University of Toronto Archives, and private collections. The authors' extensive footnotes will be made available on the University Archives' website. Canadian pilots, engineers, mechanics, and designers, many with ties to the University of Toronto, were integral to the war effort. Jonathan and Edward explore how these individuals and the legacy of the war fuelled a postwar aviation boom in the Toronto area. In doing so, the curators also reveal broader Canadian attitudes towards air warfare, remembrance, and memorialization.

The resulting exhibition and accompanying catalogue serve as a counterpoint to traditional accounts of early Canadian aeronautics. As Jonathan and Edward demonstrate, its history is far more complex and nuanced than the story of Canada's individual Great War aces. Such a fresh analysis considerably broadens our understanding of early Canadian aviation and the mythologies surrounding it.

Loryl MacDonald
University Archivist
May 2015

Spectators watch a Curtis JN-4 "Canuck," built by Canadian Aeroplanes Limited and operated by Bishop-Barker Aeroplanes Limited, perform over Lake Ontario during the 1919 Canadian National Exhibition. (Source – Library and Archives Canada)

INTRODUCTION

On 25 August, a young visitor to the 1919 Canadian National Exhibition (CNE), fifteen-year old Fred Hitchins (1904-1973), a future air force historian, witnessed something new: the start of an international air race. This first CNE airshow was part of Canada's Victory Year celebrations. Among the aviators overhead was William Barker, VC, (1894-1930) flying a Fokker D.VII—perhaps the most advanced aircraft of its day. The sight of war trophies flying alongside a Toronto-built, JN-4 left an indelible impression. Why—and how—Canada's most decorated airman flew over the city's fair grounds in a German fighter plane is part of an important, if long-forgotten, chapter in the history of early Canadian aviation. Today, a plane much like Barker's survives in the most unlikely of places, Knowlton, Quebec. How it got there, and why, is part of an equally overlooked chapter in this country's history.

At face value, this exhibition's materials might appear to tell a simple story from a bygone era. On one level, this is true. This exhibit hinges on aviation in the immediate postwar years, an era of barnstormers, air races, and famous aviators. These airmen and their aeroplanes have rarely lacked for publicity. Their exploits are legendary. But this reading only makes sense in light of a preoccupation with knights of the air. Their stories dominate the canon of early Canadian aviation, which, despite occasional deviation, remains overwhelmingly focused on valiant aces, like Billy Bishop (1894-1956).

Reality is less clean cut. The early history of Canadian aviation is richer and more diverse than a simple story about aces. It cuts across the first half of Canada's twentieth-century, encompassing our culture, government, private industry, and individuals, both civilian and in the military; a fact which the material in this exhibition highlights from beginning to end.

Much of what has been branded as a "Canadian" story is inextricably linked to a broader, imperial narrative. Even during the war, attempts to identify Canadian airmen in the British flying services were largely unsuccessful. This simple task took nearly a generation to complete. When it was, we learned

that nearly one third of British pilots hailed from Canada. Historians have been attempting to explain this apparently disproportionate representation ever since. Too often, however, the details of individual exploits were woven into this national narrative, leaving a misleading picture of Canadian aviation from 1914 to 1918. Aces were singled out in favour of more detailed analysis, while ground crews and non-pilots were either ignored or identified only peripherally. Occasional monographs have deviated from this pattern, but they are the exception rather than the rule. Broadly speaking, there have been few attempts to tease out the subtle elements of this more complicated, yet equally fascinating, story of early Canadian aviation.

In contrast to the persistent emphasis on wartime aces, this exhibit pivots on events during 1919. The year was a very public celebration of a hard-won victory, which helped establish a commemorative legacy that continues today. During the summer's CNE, the air war played an integral part of these events, as the young Fred Hitchins would likely attest. One of its main attractions was the sight of Victoria Cross winners flying in Toronto's skies. These flights did more than just reinforce the trope of the gallant aviator. They represented an intertwining of Canada's wartime efforts, ongoing attempts to record, document, and preserve this experience, and the need to build a viable postwar future.

In the cockpit, these pilots wanted to keep flying. Commercial aviation was a virgin landscape and aviators such as William Barker leveraged their reputations to establish themselves as civilian entrepreneurs. The machines they flew also represented more than just the era's leading scout aircraft. They were war trophies; physical manifestations of a diverse material and archival record that men like Sir Arthur Doughty (1860-1936), Dominion Archivist, collected to document the Canadian experience, both during and immediately after the Great War.

A pair of war trophy, Fokker. D.VIIs fly in formation with a Toronto-built JN-4 "Canuck" in front of crowds at the first CNE air show in August 1919. All three are piloted by wartime scout pilots who joined Bishop-Barker Aeroplanes Limited. (Source – Library and Archives Canada)

Ironically, the treasury of artefacts, documents, photographs, and art that Doughty amassed has only occasionally been subject to rigorous historical analysis. A handful of researchers from outside the academy have sampled these sources, but this exhibit seeks to investigate them more deeply. It does so, in part, by examining Arthur Doughty and his interactions with aerial and other trophies from the Great War. The resulting narrative presents

an alternative to traditional accounts of Canadian aces and their victory scores. The product remains a very Canadian story, but one told using a variety of primary sources that were consciously collected and conserved for generations. At a higher level, the exhibit argues that this kind of fresh, focused analysis adds considerably to our understanding of early Canadian aviation.

After delving into Doughty's efforts, both in terms of the construction of the historical record and his interaction with postwar aviation in Canada, the exhibit pulls back to consider public engagement with the artefacts he collected. Aviation museums remain the most likely milieu where people interact with stories of early aviation. The Smithsonian's *National Air & Space Museum* (NASM), for instance, remains among the most visited museums in the world. In Ottawa, the *Canadian War Museum* (CWM) and the *Canada Aviation and Space Museum* (CAvSM) both tell the story of Canada's first air war. The war trophies displayed in each institution deserve consideration alongside artistic depictions of the war, photographic evidence, and the documentary record. Indeed, considering the modern CWM collection as an historical resource serves historians as another category of evidence. Approaching original artefacts from such a perspective, Canada's war trophy aircraft are the materiel equivalent of an archival document. They may take different forms, but all are primary sources.

Yet, despite this salient fact, vintage aeroplanes are rarely subject to academic study. In their place, historians are much more likely to turn to the relevant official history. In Canada, however, the origins of its national museums and of the Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) are surprisingly intertwined. Unpacking this relationship shines a spotlight onto the fascinating interplay between material and written history. The exhibit proceeds by considering the availability and use of various historical sources and, in so doing, explains why one version of Canada's aviation history is told and retold, while another remains largely neglected.

A LITERATURE OF ACES

Canada's contribution to the air war was the largest of the British Dominions. Nearly 25,000 Canadians served with the Royal Naval Air Service (RNAS), Royal Flying Corps (RFC), and Royal Air Force (RAF) during the war, approximately one quarter of the British flying services. They flew observation missions, photographic reconnaissance flights, scout and contact patrols, and bombing runs. Many reached the status of flight and squadron commanders and, among scout pilots, some 150 to 200 reached the unofficial status of ace. Despite these successes, Canada's aerial efforts remained colonial. The country's airmen may have served in large numbers, but they never rose above field commands or to staff positions.

The British flying services had little concern for Canadian interests, a fact that did not bother Ottawa's political or military leadership. Prior to the outbreak of the war, Prime Minster Sir Robert Borden (1854-1937) supported Canadian efforts at aviation but was content to let Britain lead. He believed that Britain possessed the necessary power to control air policy and, while open to supporting Canadian efforts, Borden favoured joint imperial initiatives; a position re-emphasized during the war. In 1916, the prime minister remained untroubled that Canada had "no aviation service" and thought it unnecessary to create one.

Ottawa's position is understandable. Canada did not possess a national air force. Its substantial military efforts were directed towards the ground war, with the First and Second Contingents of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF). Borden's reluctance to take a leading role in the nascent air war was echoed by his Minister of Militia, Sir Sam Hughes (1853-1921). The mercurial Hughes was not keen on the idea of a Canadian aviation service, though his views shifted during the conflict. In characteristic fashion, however, the minister never articulated a practical way for Canada to undertake an aviation corps.

Hughes' resignation in November 1916 coincided with growing realization that Canadians were playing a substantial part in the aerial effort. Months

earlier, Canada entered into conversation with representatives from South Africa and Australia to consider the acceptance of RFC squadrons from the Dominion governments. Although the conversations produced no immediate results, they represented a first effort to outline a Canadian flying service. Canada's interest was kindled by the exploits of its aviators flying under Britain's flag. In June 1917, 'Billy' Bishop earned the Victoria Cross for a raid on a German aerodrome. His citation garnered considerable press and helped kick start calls for a national air force similar to the Canadian Corps.

Matters came to a head when Prime Minister Borden reversed his earlier position on a Canadian air force. In a heated message to Sir George Perley (1857-1938), Canadian High Commissioner in London, Borden addressed reported complaints, declaring, "a Canadian Flying Corps demands immediate and attentive consideration." The prime minister was irked that Canadian airmen were not receiving "fair play or adequate recognition." His solution, which called for the creation of a national air service, pushed Canadian policy beyond anything contemplated at the cabinet level. "I am inclined to believe that the time for organizing an independent Canadian Air Service has come," Borden explained, "and that we must ask the Imperial authorities to release all Canadians now in the British Flying Service." Perley and Sir A.E. Kemp (1858-1929), Hughes' replacement as Minister of Militia, immediately began inquiries. Their investigations highlighted two problems: neither the British nor the Canadian government knew how many Canadians were part of the British flying services and both were uncertain whether a national force was possible, or even desirable.

Throughout 1918, Kemp communicated with Britain's Air Ministry (AM) to ensure Canadian airmen received "adequate credit." The efforts proved futile. The British Air Council considered the Canadian idea, but concluded the suggestions were "difficult" because of the RAF's practice of avoiding "mention of individuals by name." The Council nonetheless conceded that it was "politic to meet the wishes of the Canadians" and it consulted about "giving publicity to meritorious action by Canadians in the R.A.F. in the field." After due consideration it was decided that Kemp would be forwarded monthly summaries, which the minister could "communicate confidentially" back to Canada provided he excluded "all mention" of individuals in the press. Canadians had gained access to greater levels of information, but remained unable to utilize it as they saw fit. Canada's airmen never gained the wartime recognition desired by the prime minister, the Canadian press, or public, but a Canadian Air Force (CAF) was created at the end of the war. In August 1918, 93 and 123 Squadrons, RAF were designated 1 Squadron, CAF (fighter) and 2 Squadron, CAF (bomber). The CAF was short-lived and, in the end, was not repatriated to Canada as originally envisaged.

Historians studying this material invariably encounter descriptions of Great War airmen as 'Knights of the Air'. This mythical presentation was the product of wartime propaganda, which, in hope of counteracting the dehumanizing nature of total warfare, re-cast airmen as chivalric knights. Pilot

exploits were plastered on postcards and newspapers. Their achievements, especially the downing of enemy aircraft, were championed as modern versions of medieval jousts. As Henry Newbolt (1862-1938) wrote, there was something "chivalrous about these champions of the air." Politicians, including British Prime Minister, Lloyd George (1863-1945), made similar reference to airmen as "the knighthood of this war," recalling "the legendary days of chivalry, not merely by the daring of their exploits, but by the nobility of their spirit."

While Airmen and aeroplanes may have been novel in 1914, their power to influence public opinion lay in how they reinforced, rather than challenged, societal norms. In Britain, chivalry and class were closely linked. Aviation was an expensive hobby before the war and links between upper class notions of chivalric conduct ensured that it remained the purview of 'gentlemen'. Such ties were reinforced during the war and aerial combat was praised for its "code of honor" which was "jealously observed … by the aviation corps." Airmen were "gentlemen warriors" and, for the British populace, recognition that they guarded England's chivalric heritage reinforced pre-war notions of aviators as a gentlemanly elite.

Few wartime observers were familiar with aviation. Attempts to convey the chaotic nature of a dogfight reflected this unfamiliarity and descriptions of tactics, aerial maneuvers, and evolving doctrines lacked easy frames of reference. "We can hardly imagine," wrote Newbolt, "what a fight like this is to the fighters: perhaps they themselves are hardly conscious … that they are in the void, without landmarks or time." Wartime authors and journalists thus relied on imagined notions of aviators as aerial knights to describe the air war.

There were a few critical interpretations of the exclusive focus on fighter pilots, their gallantry, and heroism. At Craiglockhart in 1917, for instance, Siegfried Sassoon (1886-1967) challenged the dominant narrative by critiquing this glorification:

> I hope I've caught the feeling of the 'Line',
> And the amazing spirit of the troops.
> By Jove, those flying-chaps of ours are fine!
> I watched one daring beggar looping loops,
> Soaring and diving like some bird of prey.
> And through it all I felt that splendour shine
> Which makes us win."
> The soldier sipped his wine.
> "Ah, yes, but it's the Press that leads the way!"

Sassoon's poetry acknowledged the press' influence on depictions of airmen and his reference to wine-sipping soldiers highlighted enlisted men's skepticism of civilians, the press, and their constructed descriptions of pilot and soldier life.

Canadian airmen were similarly sceptical. The most revered of Canada's aces, Billy Bishop, was brought home in 1918 to help recruiting. Bishop, who described his view of the air war in several speeches, played up the adventure of the air while downplaying more chivalrous portrayals. At the Canadian Club in Montreal, he lectured on the nature of aerial patrols. He further stressed the "great adventure" of modern fighter aircraft and he relished the individuality

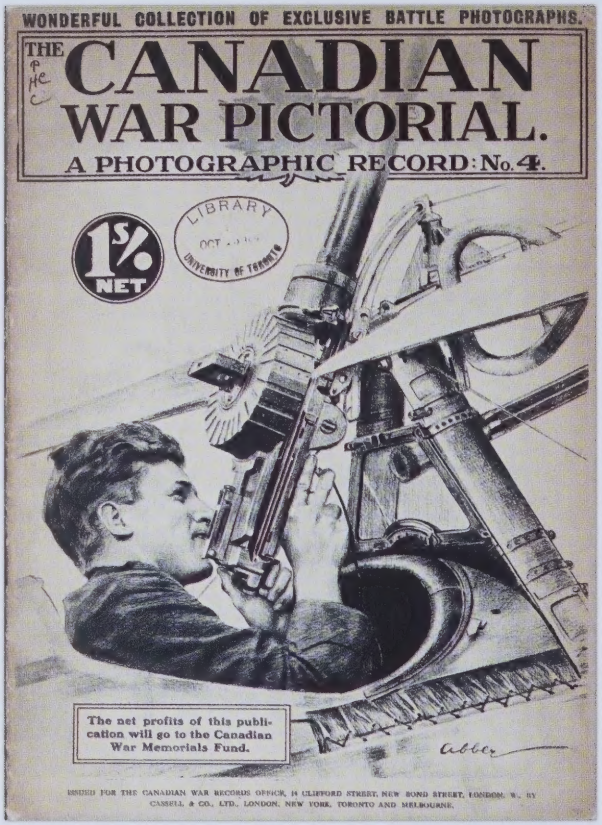
of the air war. For Bishop, the thrill of the air war was in the hunt. He did not subscribe to notions of chivalrous knights of the air, desiring instead to hunt for an enemy and a chance to raise his personal score. Raymond Collishaw (1893-1976), another Canadian ace, was equally sceptical of romantic depictions of airmen. Collishaw believed that "a good deal has been written" about chivalric air aces in the air war of 1914-1918, which he considered "utter nonsense." Some reports of chivalry were so stretched they "even Cervantes' hero [would] shake his head in wonderment."

Wartime descriptions of airmen were highly selective. Recruiting posters for the RAF, for instance, highlighted scenes of action-packed single aircraft. Prominent displays of healthy young airmen were also common. Characterizations of the air war as a war of individuals did not reflect its reality. Fighter aircraft and fighter pilots were in the minority, despite receiving the greatest coverage. Observation aircraft, balloons, and reconnaissance work were largely ignored. Yet, the decision to focus on individuals, particularly fighter pilots, is understandable. Reconnaissance flights had to fly low and stay over the front lines for extended periods. These were carried out in slow, stable aircraft that lacked the glamour of sleek modern fighter aircraft. The flights were also extremely hazardous and neither the press nor the flying services wanted to publicize just how dangerous they were.

Canadian descriptions of their airmen as "knights" lacked the class and gentlemanly references of their British counterparts. In place of chivalrous, upper class gentlemen, Canadians were daring, skilled, and independent. Their individuality, aptitude in the air, and keen sporting spirit was reframed as the personification of Canadian character. By re-defining the definition of an airman, Canadians made their pilots their own. Canadians still used romantic language, but descriptions of airmen no longer portrayed them as chivalric knights. They were now skilled Canadian 'aces'.

In the first three years of the war there was little distinction drawn between Canadian and British airmen, reflecting the close ties between Britain and Canada. From 1914 to early 1917, airmen writ large were described as brave, gallant, and daring. This changed in 1917, after Billy Bishop was awarded his Victoria Cross. The reports of Bishop's award coincided with Canadian successes at Vimy Ridge and Hill 70 and they helped stoke a growing sense of nationalism. Canadian newspapers now called attention to a pilot's nationality, headlining stories "Canadian Airmen Active in France" and "Toronto Flyers Do Daring Deeds." By 1918, even Lord Beaverbrook's (1879-1964) Canadian War Records Office (CWRO) published air-minded propaganda. The *Canadian War Pictorial*, for example, featured a large portrait of Bishop, described even then as "Canada's greatest airman." A lengthy article followed by Charles Grey (1875-1953), editor of the British weekly *The Aeroplane,* on the qualities that made Canadians ideal pilots and observers.

In keeping with wartime censorship, Grey's piece was short on facts. It explained that Canadians made "particularly good pilot[s]." Besides "being a daring


WONDERFUL COLLECTION OF EXCLUSIVE BATTLE PHOTOGRAPHS.
THE CANADIAN WAR PICTORIAL.
A PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD: No. 4.
1/6 NET
LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
The net profits of this publication will go to the Canadian War Memorials Fund.
ISSUED FOR THE CANADIAN WAR RECORDS OFFICE, 14 CLIFFORD STREET, NEW BOND STREET, LONDON, W., BY CASSELL & CO., LTD., LONDON, NEW YORK, TORONTO AND MELBOURNE.

William Avery Bishop, VC, depicted in a hand drawn sketch on the cover of a Canadian War Records Office publication, the *Canadian War Pictorial*. The Office's photographic unit also made the original photograph on which this drawing was based. (Source – Fisher Rare Book Library)

and skilful," Canadians also made "thoroughly good" airmen. According to Grey, this man's qualities were bravery, self-reliance, personal initiative, good nerves, good hands, eyes, and judgement of "pace and distance," and "sound common sense." Grey surely stoked nationalist fire with his definition of Canadians as:

> brave to the point of recklessness. Generous to a fault. Ready to sacrifice themselves at any time to save their comrades. Dying gallantly, like the gentlemen they are. Wearing their many hard-won decorations modestly. They are the logical outcome of the independent, self-reliant British ancestry from which they are descended.

With men who were independent, self-reliant, brave, generous, and of good British stock, Grey offered little more than platitudes to explain Canadians' aptitude in the air. He concluded that whether by birth, immigration, or association, Canadians were likely to possess all of an airman's desired qualities. Such abilities were attributed to above-average hands and eyes made possible by the "clear air, the clean winters, and brilliant summers" in Canada—especially in comparison to the "murk and gloom" of British manufacturing cities. With these broad generalizations, Grey offered distinctly Canadian praise that did not risk contradiction, embarrassment, or censorship in wartime Europe.

Grey added an extra dose of Canadianization to his article by skillfully calling on almost every region of the country. He marveled at the seaworthiness of Canadians who had sailed on "the coast of British Columbia," the ability of settlers from the "open prairies" to find their way across "trackless country by sun and stars and almost unnoticeable landmarks," and the Canadian of the "forest country" who possessed both a keen eye and a good shot. This

linking of character with geography echoed a common practice during in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Canadian leaders regularly alluded to the northern and hard-weathered nature of the country, which was "peace-loving" and filled with soldiers who came from "the hills and valleys and surf-beaten shores," from the mining and lumber camps of the north, and from the "broad prairie Provinces and their northern hinterlands."

Sir Max Aitken also marveled how the "manhood of Canada hurried to arms" from all reaches of the country, including its "lumber camps," "wheatfields," the slopes "of the Rockies," the "shores of Hudson's Bay," right through to the "reaches of the St. Lawrence." While only Aitken praised Canadian urban centres, which, despite the stereotypes actually contributed the majority of the country's ranks, his language evoked Grey's. Canada's geography, and more specifically its harsh climate, was an easy way to nationalize praise. It spoke to the nation's different geographic regions, stoked a growing sense of national awareness, both in Canada and in Europe, and did so by recalling a half century tradition establishing Canada's northern climate as a defining national character trait.

Focusing on the "northern" character of Canada's soldiers drew on a long-standing tradition. Beginning as early as 1855, Canadians started to link their identity with their geography. As Carl Berger (b.1939) accounts, Canadian nationalists extolled the northern climate and the "influence of snow and cold" as positive actors on Canadian character. Energy, power, health, self-reliance, and purity, all part of a vocabulary describing Canada's north, became synonyms for Canadians and their self-defined character. Like the turn to medievalism in Britain, the move to embrace Canadian northerness was a constructed phenomenon created in response to modernity. Canadians believed that industrialization and urbanization risked making men 'soft' and popular culture stressed manliness and a return to a "purer reality." Cottaging, sports, adventure stories, hunting, and war symbolized both a renewed manliness and the strength and promise of Canada. For many, the ties between manliness and militarism were cemented with Canadian success at Vimy Ridge, Passchendaele, and the victories of 1918. Canadians looked to their citizen soldiers with pride and turned to geography and manly notions of character to describe them. News editorials, politicians, and nationalists did not hesitate, therefore, to draw the links between manliness, a northern geography, and success in battle.

The air war, with its manly, heroic imagery, also turned to the country's northern geography to explain the achievements of Canada's airmen. Reality, however, was quite different. The bulk of Canada's aerial commitment, like the air war more broadly, was in training and manning reconnaissance flights over France and Flanders. Canadian airmen recognized this reality and rejected the notion of knights or northerness. Yet, the shift away from British notions of knights, with a distinctive northern ruggedness, ensured continued focus on stories of Canadian aces. Singling out the country's aces for their achievements and linking them with nascent ideals of Canadian nationalism, ensured that wartime

depictions of Canadian airmen rarely moved beyond generalizations. The result was a skewed wartime picture that ignored Canada's sizeable commitment to training and its contribution to the RFC, RNAS, and RAF. It also ensured that romantic notions of chivalric knights were superseded by nationalist propaganda heralding the north.

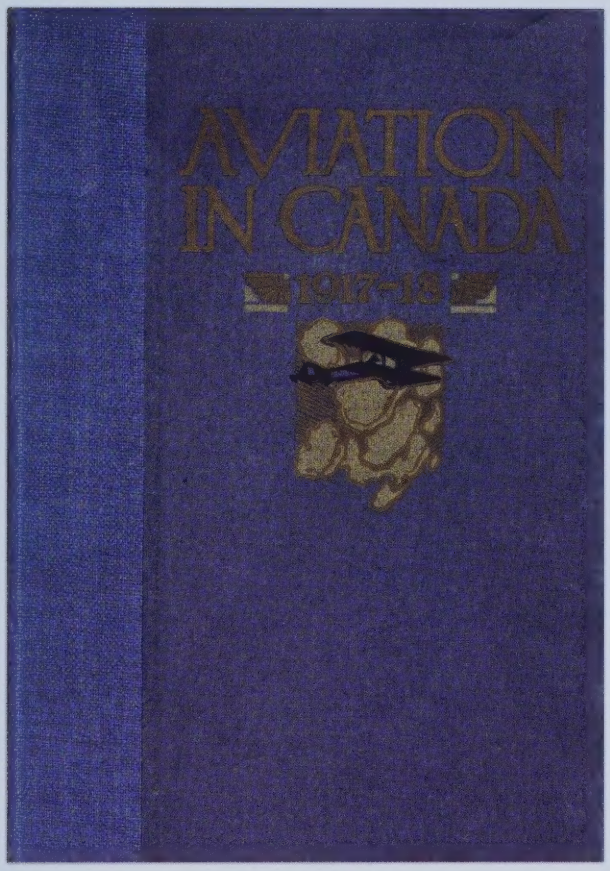
When the war ended, the Armistice sparked interest in recording the events of 1914-1918. Monuments, cemeteries, and commemorative ceremonies were established to mark key anniversaries. In Europe, battlefield tourism, spurred by the success of Michelin guides, proved popular as families travelled to see where loved ones had fought and died. Popular histories, often based on collected works by journalists, and retrospectives were published en masse. Governments also committed to producing official histories of the conflict, histories that took considerable time.

Amongst the war's English-speaking nations, Britain, Australia, and the United States all laid out plans to complete official histories of their air war. A similar desire drove Lord Beaverbrook's CWRO. Admittedly, it focused almost exclusively on the actions of the CEF, but officers were tasked with collecting information on Canadians in the British flying services. No standard existed to identify these men and record of Canada's part in the air war was scattered amongst the files in Britain's Air Ministry and the resulting archives. Progress identifying Canadians was slow and, by the time of the Armistice, the office had identified only 900 airmen.

Canada's official war historian, Colonel Fortesque Duguid (1887-1976), was aided by Lord Beaverbrook's work. His main focus was the CEF and, without accessible data on Canadian airmen, Duguid opted not to address Canada's wartime aviation history. The Army Historical Section did not completely ignore Canada's aerial contribution, however. In the early 1920s the section employed Captain O. Berry (of the short lived Canadian Air Force), to compile an aerial history. According to Tim Cook, Berry's final work was "very unsatisfactory" and soon halted.

In the meantime, civilians and soldiers were unwilling to wait for their official history. Authors, filmmakers, and 'unofficial' historians worked to fill the gaps and, despite a lack of documentation, several studies of Canada's wartime effort were published immediately after the war. Alan Sullivan's (1868-1947) *Aviation in Canada* and portions of the series *Canada in the Great War* were two of the few that examined the air war. While each recognized Canadian airmen, they did not mythologize their exploits. Instead, these works established the basic facts, events, and organizations in which Canadians were involved.

Alan Sullivan's book was largely technical, dealing extensively with the development of Canadian Aeroplanes Limited (CAL). The work explains the British War Office's decision to establish a training branch of the Royal Flying Corps in Canada. It presents a stark picture of the air war, noting the "astonishing" losses caused by "never-ending aerial warfare." Sullivan's book offered the first examination of military flight training efforts in



The cover of Allan Sullivan's influential *Aviation in Canada, 1917-1918*, published in 1919. Despite its age, Sullivan's text remains one of the best histories of the RFC Canada program and the history of Canadian Aeroplanes Limited. (Source – Fisher Rare Book Library)

Canada. He did not shy away from criticism, pointing out that Canada's training scheme was plagued by insufficient staff officers, who were provided with "meagre equipment, much of which they themselves had to evolve." Absent from his analysis are Canada's aces. Instead, Sullivan was concerned with the establishment and growth of training operations in Canada as a feedstock of aviators for the conflict overseas. With the war over, Sullivan had no need to invoke wartime propaganda, offering him a chance to produce a critical interpretation of Canada's training efforts, free from the more common mythology of aerial warfare.

Appendix I of the six volume unofficial history, *Canada in the Great War*, was also devoted to Canada's aerial history. Like Sullivan, Lawrence J. Burpee's (1873-1946) history presented new information not available in wartime accounts. It outlined the government's evolving air-mindedness and highlighted Canada's commitment to the air war. Burpee commented on the limits of Canada's aerial capabilities and the difficulties Ottawa faced recruiting for the Canadian Air Force. Despite the nationalist rhetoric, Canadian pilots were uncompelled to join the CAF, favouring the "powerful and splendidly organized" RAF over the "necessarily small Canadian unit." Where Burpee differed from Sullivan was his attempt to provide a Canadianized history of the war. He described the country's part in the air as "very considerable" and "perhaps greater relatively than that of any other member of the Allied forces." His appendix quoted liberally from Billy Bishop, however, and by relying on Canada's highest scoring ace, Burpee shifted away from Sullivan's path breaking analysis, back to a focus on aces. His work also recalled wartime depictions of airmen, which argued that Canada's pilots were successful because of their enthusiasm and "aptitude for air fighting." His conclusions foreshadowed

Aviation News was produced by the Aero Club of Canada in the immediate post-war years. This cover from the July 1919 edition shows F.G. Ericson, Billy Bishop, VC, and William Barker, VC, leaning against the lower wing of Fokker D.VII 8609/18 at Leaside aerodrome. (Source – Library and Archives Canada)

how histories of Canada's air war would become intimately tied to its ongoing mythologization.

The postwar championing of Canadian aces took many forms. In 1919 and 1920 Canadians witnessed touring exhibitions of the Canadian War Memorial Fund (CWMF) and aerial displays celebrating the allied victory. These displays re-emphasized wartime depictions of airmen as aces and helped establish a postwar view of Canadian aviators as a select group of highly skilled fighter pilots. The role pilots and airmen played in training, observation, and reconnaissance was neglected. One of the largest displays was at the 1919 Canadian National Exhibition, which presented a visual reminder of Canada's aerial war. The victory celebrations on the fair grounds combined artwork from the CWMF, air shows, static aircraft displays, and captured German war trophies, which included several aerial prizes. The juxtaposition of art, photographs, and physical aircraft presented a vivid link between Canada's pilots and their victories in the skies over France and Belgium.

The air shows over Lake Ontario showcased how Canada's airmen had operated during the Great War. Stunts and demonstrations were instructive and helped the public visualize the dogfights so well covered by the media throughout the war. Yet, although they provided a glimpse of mock aerial combat, these dogfights represented only a part of the aerial war. Air show organizers favoured the use of fighter aircraft and neglected the more cumbersome and slow moving observation planes. An observation aircraft used by the RFC, the Royal Aircraft Factory B.E.2, was on static display, but its inclusion was little more than an afterthought, especially compared to the fighter centric entertainment in the skies above. The air shows of 1919 provided a tangible, visual reference of Canada's airmen. Presenting such displays contributed to wartime characterizations of the air war—one of fighters and aerial victories—and carried them into the postwar period.

Works by the Canadian War Memorial Fund were presented in tandem with the aerial shows.

A plate from the Canadian War Memorials publication Art & War depicting C.R.W. Nevinson's "War in the Air." The painting depicts Billy Bishop engaging enemy aircraft in his Nieuport 17. The original, now part of Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, hangs adjacent to a Bishop display in the Canadian War Museum, behind the fuselage of William Barker's Sopwith Snipe. (Source - Private Collection)

An outgrowth of Lord Beaverbrook's CWRO, the CWMF was established to present the most "complete artistic record of any country's share in the great war." The fund's contributors included future members of the Group of Seven, Francis Johnston (1888-1949), Arthur Lismer (1885-1969), A.Y. Jackson (1882-1974), and Frederick Varley (1881-1869). The CWMF's artists were tasked with representing all facets of Canada's war effort and its importance was reflected in major works by J.A. Turnbull (1890-?), C.R.W. Nevinson (1889-1946), Francis Johnston, and James Maurice (1865-1924).

The range of artwork depicting the air war was broad, including scenes from European and Canadian skies. These artists struggled with depicting the air war. Unlike landscape, architectural, or figurative works, aviation art depicts mechanical objects at motion in a physical and spatial environment. The difficulty portraying moving lines of horizon, motion among the clouds, and the significant differences in scale between aircraft and earth were new experiences without visual precedent. Artists encountered a visual parallel to the difficulty wartime authors, journalists, and observers had conveying the nature of the air war. If they painted solitary aircraft, they risked minimizing the scale of the engagements depicted. Alternatively, if an artist chose to depict a multitude of planes, they risked losing miniscule aircraft amidst a sea of sky.

For some, this challenge proved insurmountable. According to Dean Oliver (b. 1965) and Laura Brandon (b. 1951), when painting *War in the Air*, C.R.W. Nevinson found the assignment so difficult that it "brought about a nervous breakdown." In an attempt to reconcile these contradictions, the majority of the CWMF artists settled on a very specific vision of aerial warfare. Scenes were approached from two different perspectives focusing on solitary aircraft, surrounded by large expansive skyscapes, or hectic, closely cropped, visually jarring compositions. The aircraft depicted were almost all fighter scouts, as found in Nevinson and J.A. Turnbull's work, or training aircraft, such as those depicted Francis Johnston's work. These choices solidified wartime depictions of aerial combat. They over-emphasized the fighting and solitary nature of the air war at the expense of more common observation work carried out by the unglamorous B.E.2 and RE series of aircraft.

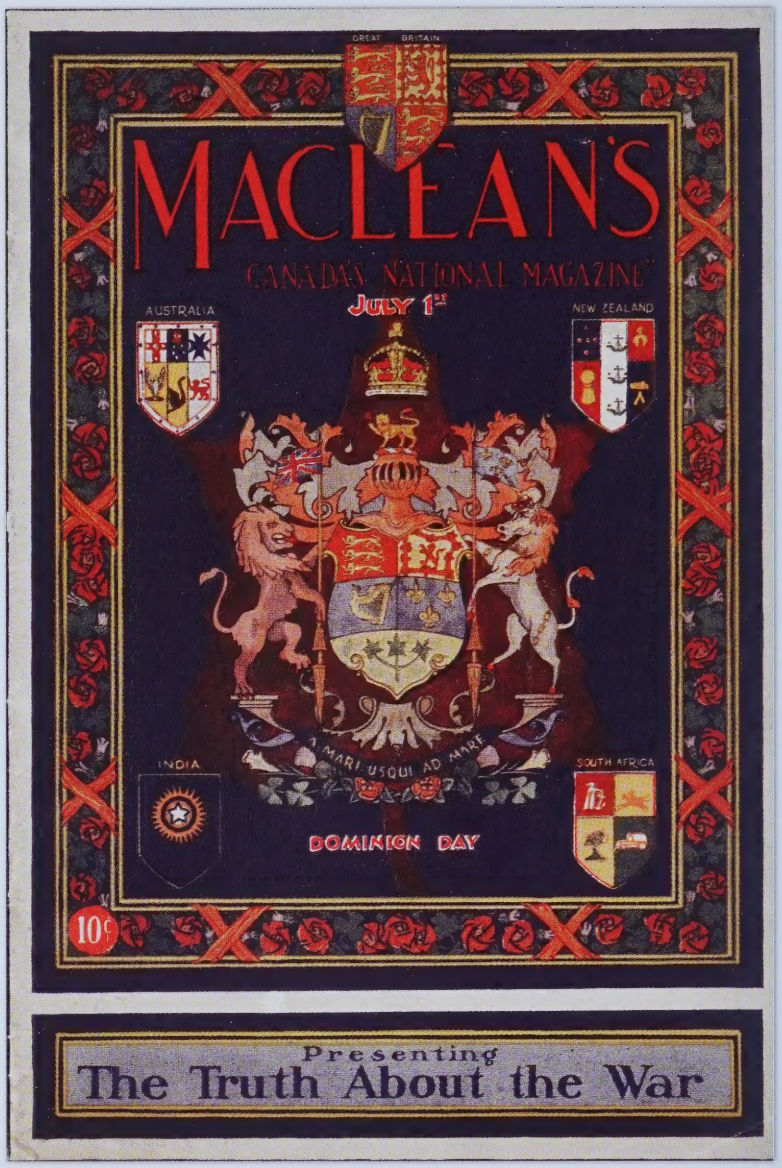
CWMF works met with widespread acclaim. Reviewers claimed that the art was accurate because it could "speak the language of the spirit." Another praised the art because it revealed the "astounding truth" of the air war. Audiences at these exhibitions viewed the air war much as it was depicted. These early postwar depictions ensured that, despite the efforts of early historians like Sullivan, Canadians reduced the air war to its simplified version. The result was an increased mythologization of the air war in the 1920s. This was not just a Canadian phenomenon. In the postwar period France, Germany, Britain, and the United States all produced comics, novels, artwork, and films popularizing the war's aces. Some of the most influential were Hollywood films produced between 1927 and 1938 such as *Wings*, which won Best Picture at the first Academy Awards, and two versions of *The Dawn Patrol*, and *Hell's Angels*. Each

drew heavily on wartime propaganda and chivalric depictions of the air war. They chronicled the lives of combat pilots and aces while depicting the evils of German bombing.

Postwar myths about airmen were boosted by the popularity of aviation in the interwar period. Aeroplanes, tanks, and submarines underwent significant technological advancements during the war. Submarines shattered the dominance of ships and tanks embodied the worst of mechanized warfare. None was viewed favourably afterwards. Only the aeroplane and the promised opportunities for transportation and travel, gained a popular and commercial civilian foothold. A growing postwar aviation industry led to widespread glamorizing of airplanes and pilots. The reporting and coverage of barnstorming expeditions, air races, and long-distance challenges helped further popularize aviation. Transcontinental and transoceanic attempts were the most influential of these exploits and their pilots inherited the brave and gallant mantle of wartime flyers. Charles Lindbergh's (1902-1974) successful transatlantic flight, for example, made him a celebrity and the excitement surrounding his feat bordered on hysteria. In Canada, Mackenzie King (1874-1950) described Lindbergh as a "young god" and his flight as "the single greatest exploit in the world's history." Because of such praise, pilots and airplanes were invoked as modern technological marvels and links between wartime pilots and postwar explorers favourably influenced memories of the air war.

Still without an official history, Canadians compiled their own private and unofficial histories. Britain's official history posed a particular problem for Canadians. Although they had served as part of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF), Canadians came to view the Canadian Corps as a national army. Britain's history did not make this distinction, treating Canadians as part of a larger British force. The perceived snub was compounded by a sentiment that Americans were also taking credit for Canadian victories. In response, a number of soldier-authors defended Canada's wartime reputation. Published by *Maclean's* in 1928, George Drew's (1894-1973) 'The Truth About the War', tackled American claims that Britain "shirked its responsibility." It struck a chord. Drew's article channelled Canadians' anti-Americanism and their pride in the CEF's achievements, while revealing a ready market interested in Canada's Great War history.

George Drew's success provided him an opportunity to expand his conclusions. Over the next two years he turned to the air war to defend Canada's wartime record. The series, entitled "Canada's Fighting Airmen," profiled twelve pilots and cemented the postwar mythologization of Canadian airmen as a select group. Drew glorified their achievements and reinforced their reputations as aces. The profiles were laudatory, highlighting the fighting spirit of the pilots, their individual abilities, and remarkable courage. They were complemented by illustrations by Franz Johnston, the Group of Seven member and former CWMF artist. The series proved enormously popular, in part because Drew recognized that the air war, with its individualism and heroism, represented the ideals many wanted the war to be.



George Drew's wildly successful article in *Maclean's*, "The Truth About the War" (July, 1928) was reprinted multiple times in pamphlet form. Another pamphlet, "Canada in the Great War," followed, as did a series profiles entitled "Canada's Fighting Airmen." These were later republished as a book by the same name. (Source: University of Toronto Archives)

In 1930, Drew's work was compiled into a book, *Canada's Fighting Airmen*. Like his earlier articles, it began with a portrait of Billy Bishop, but the larger goal was telling "the story of Canada's astonishing share in the war in the air." Drew worried that Canadian youth were too young to remember the war and he wanted to safeguard the memory of Canada's achievements. The book, which begins by quoting Tennyson, evokes wartime chivalric writing as it argues that Canadians played a "tremendous part" in the war. Drew did not intend to write a comprehensive history, but rather to "begin to tell the story" of Canada's airmen. He detailed how Canadians comprised one-third of the RAF and how they dominated British victory lists. Canada's dominance of fighter pilot victories was critical to Drew's argument, which highlighted the superiority of Canadian pilots in successive historical treatments of the country's wartime airmen.

Rather than provide careful analysis of why Canadians were skilled airmen, Drew focused on character traits and, like Grey, he cited geography to explain Canada's greatness. Canadians were "peculiarly fitted" for success in the air, he claimed, because of the "wide horizons of life in Canada" and the "atmosphere" of optimism and confidence that stemmed from the rugged "newness" of the country. Drew noted that the exploits of Canadian airmen were part of a larger story of British achievement. He also offered high nationalist praise, observing, "Canada's share individually and collectively was out of all proportion to her population."

Drew's profiles were examples of Canadian gallantry, which stressed the importance of memory and the manly lineage of Canadian airmen. Focusing on aces further emphasized wartime depictions of Canadian airmen. In seeking to fill a gap in Canada's historical record, until the official record was compiled, Drew's book did more than champion the "bravery, devotion to duty and self-sacrifice" of Canada's airmen. It also worked to protect Canada's wartime record while fostering the country's postwar burgeoning nationalism. In the process, Drew cemented the myth of Canadian airmen as aces and influenced the direction of historical inquiry for the next fifty years.

WARTIME AVIATION IN TORONTO

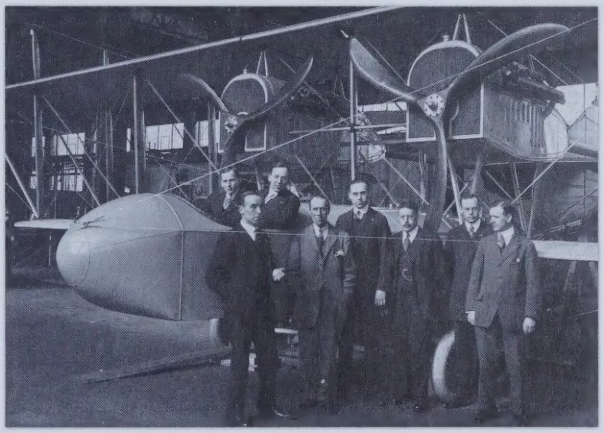
By the third year of the war, it was clear that the British Empire needed pilots. The Battle of the Somme, which began in July 1916, took longer and cost more than anyone anticipated. The War Office, the Canadian government, its general staff, and the British Expeditionary Force agreed that Canada was the best suited Dominion to help with a training scheme. The result was the Royal Flying Corps, Canada, which pre-figured both the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan (BCATP) of the Second World War and the contemporary NATO Flying Training in Canada (NFTC) program. The RFC Canada training program was established in December of 1916 and all logistics, such as constructing buildings and aerodromes, were handled by the newly founded Department of Aviation at the Imperial Munitions Board (IMB).

In 1915, the Curtis-Aeroplane and Motor Company opened a factory in Toronto to build the ubiquitous "Jenny" biplane trainer under license. The Canadianized version, which incorporated an assortment of modifications, was called the JN-4 (Canadian) "Canuck." To meet the anticipated needs of the RFC training program, the IMB purchased practically the whole of Curtis' Canadian operation. The new organization, named Canadian Aeroplanes Limited, included a factory on Strachan Avenue and the rights to the "Jenny" biplane. Both the IMB Aviation Section and the nationalized CAL were established by the end of January 1917, when an advance party arrived in Toronto set up the training program.

Unlike the Canadian Corps, which was funded by the Dominion itself, RFC Canada was an Imperial venture, which initially cost £4,000,000. Once it arrived on 22 January, the advance party moved quickly to set up the training program. Four days later it inspected the land that eventually became the Camp Borden aerodrome. A contract for the construction of fifteen "flying sheds" was issued the very next day. This large facility became the first, purpose-built, military aerodrome in Canada – and remains an active RCAF facility in 2015.

While the facilities in Borden were under construction, recruiting began at the Curtiss Flying School in Long Branch (on the border of modern-day Mississauga and Etobicoke). That same month, in the flurry of activity to set up a military flying program in Canada, a variety of other sites were selected for aerodromes. The original sites included Camp Borden and the North Toronto Station (later Wing), comprised of airfields at Leaside and Armour Heights. Camps Rathburn and Mohawk were also established in this period, as the Desoronto Station, just east of Belleville, Ontario.

The IMB's Aviation Department was staffed by local civilians with extensive business experience. Their efforts facilitated a remarkable ramp-up in the scale and pace of operations. In terms of Canadian Aeroplanes Limited, for example, 2,900 aeroplanes were constructed between December 1916 and September 1918. These aircraft incorporated changes to the original JN-4 design, which improved both the serviceability and safety of the Toronto-built Canucks. The aircraft's control wheel was replaced with a stick and the airframe's tail fin substituted metal for much of the wooden structure of the original. Irish linen, made scarce by the German U-boat threat, was sourced domestically from Trois-Rivières, Quebec. High quality ash and spruce were also available in large quantities, mostly from the west coast of Canada. Using this secure, plentiful, all-Canadian supply chain, the Toronto factory produced the aforementioned lot of JN-4 Canucks, as well as a smattering of other types. Prior to establishment of CAL, Curtis Canada produced the multi-engine, C-1 "Canada" Bombers for the RFC in 1915. Later, after winning a competitive bidding process, CAL built thirty, massive, F-5 flying boats for the American Navy. Late in 1918, nearly five hundred Avro 504s were ordered, as a potential successor to the venerable JN-4. In all, Curtis Canada/Canadian Aeroplanes Limited proved itself a capable and adaptable organization.



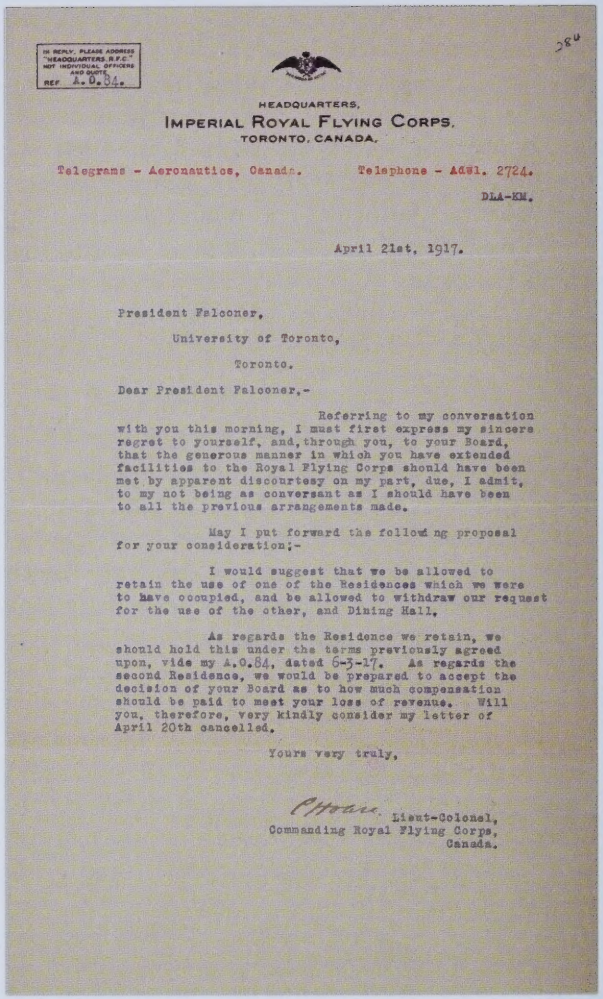
The senior staff from Curtis-Aeroplane and Motor Company's Toronto factory pose with a C-1 "Canada" bomber in 1916. Prominent among them is F.G. Ericson, who sits in the cockpit. Thirty such machines were ordered by the RFC before the Imperial Munitions Board purchased much of the operation to set up Canadian Aeroplanes Limited in early 1917. (Source – City of Toronto Archives)

From 1915, until the end of the war, the Chief Engineer and Designer at the Curtis Canada/CAL factory was Frithiof Gustaf Ericson (1880-1941), a Swedish-born engine, motorboat, and aviation pioneer. Today, Ericson is all but forgotten but, immediately after the Great War, he was a driving force behind civil aviation in southern Ontario – particularly through the Aero Club of

Canada. In addition to his engineering prowess, he was an accomplished pilot, and had a strong entrepreneurial spirit that lead to the establishment of Ericson Aircraft in 1919. His involvement in the CAL program proved integral to the training and development of Canadian aviation, both during and immediately after the war.

A number of cadets joined the Royal Flying Corps prior to the establishment of the RFC Canada training scheme. They were recruited, equipped, and generally accommodated at Victoria College, along with the Canadian Officers Training Corps (COTC), University of Toronto (U of T). With the formal establishment of RFC Canada in early 1917, the Recruiting Depot moved to the Givens Street School and later the Crawford Street School, both near Toronto's Trinity Bellwoods Park. By summer, the Depot outgrew these accommodations and moved to Leaside, where it was housed largely under canvas. In November, the Depot returned to a more appropriate location in the city, the Jesse Ketchum School, located northeast of Bloor and Avenue Road. Over the course of the war, roughly sixteen thousand men passed through the RFC/RAF Canada Recruit Depot(s).

The next step for a potential RFC pilot or observer was the Cadet Wing, originally housed at the U of T. In the early days of the training program, this course had no set length and was essentially a mixture of the later Cadet Wing, School of Aeronautics, and Armament School. By 1918, the Cadet Wing was formalized into a more structured, eight-week curriculum, including instruction on wireless



IN REPLY, PLEASE ADDRESS "HEADQUARTERS, R.F.C." NOT INDIVIDUAL OFFICERS AND QUOTE REF A.O.84.

HEADQUARTERS,
IMPERIAL ROYAL FLYING CORPS,
TORONTO, CANADA.

Telegrams - Aeronautics, Canada. Telephones - Adel. 2724.
DLA-KM.

April 21st, 1917.

President Falconer,
University of Toronto,
Toronto.

Dear President Falconer,-

Referring to my conversation with you this morning, I must first express my sincere regret to yourself, and, through you, to your Board, that the generous manner in which you have extended facilities to the Royal Flying Corps should have been met by apparent discourtesy on my part, due, I admit, to my not being as conversant as I should have been to all the previous arrangements made.

May I put forward the following proposal for your consideration;-

I would suggest that we be allowed to retain the use of one of the Residences which we were to have occupied, and be allowed to withdraw our request for the use of the other, and Dining Hall.

As regards the Residence we retain, we should hold this under the terms previously agreed upon, vide my A.O.84, dated 6-3-17. As regards the second Residence, we would be prepared to accept the decision of your Board as to how much compensation should be paid to meet your loss of revenue. Will you, therefore, very kindly consider my letter of April 20th cancelled.

Yours very truly,

C. Hoare. Lieut-Colonel,
Commanding Royal Flying Corps,
Canada.

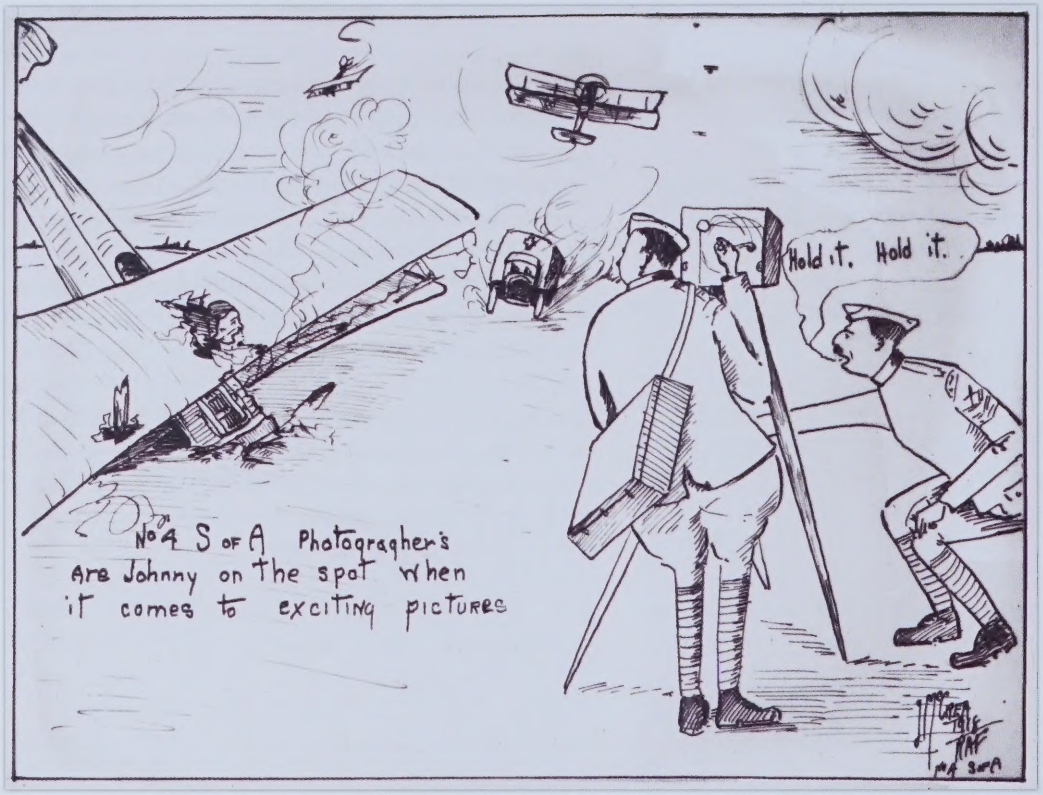
This letter from Lt Col C.G. Hoare, father of the RFC Canada program, to Robert Falconer, University of Toronto's wartime President, discusses the expansion of the RFC's presence on the U of T campus in April of 1917. (Source – University of Toronto Archives)

communications and various methods of interaction with an artillery battery. These were key tasks for a military aviator, which explains why they were taught even before flight training – let alone aerial combat. Ultimately, Victoria College provided the use of Burwash Hall and the IMB rented the East Residence from U of T to accommodate various phases of the training courses.

At the direction of RFC Canada's enterprising Commanding Officer, Lt Col Cuthbert G. Hoare, (1883-1969) flight training for some students of the Cadet Wing commenced in late February 1917. At this point, the only airfield available was the small, formerly civilian field at Long Branch. Camp Borden was furiously under construction and it was the first purpose-built location to accept a training wing. Instructors started to arrive there in early March and, by 10 April, five squadrons were ramping up operations. By the middle of May, two additional squadrons were up and running at Camp Rathburn and three more at Camp Mohawk. The North Toronto Wing was also completed soon after, demonstrating the speed with which Hoare's staff was able to source the required personnel and aircraft. Beyond people and planes, they also constructed the aerodromes, flying sheds, and support infrastructure for the whole organization.

The early Cadet Wing was relatively successful; especially considering it lacked sufficient instructors (not to mention it was the first aerial training program in Canada). Nonetheless, the program was disorganized and its results were limited. When additional instructors and administrators arrived from England, a formal program was instituted and the No. 4 School of Military Aeronautics, also housed at the U of T, was established on 1 July 1917. This effectively split cadet training into two phases. The initial, eight-week phase took place under the Cadet Wing. It was eventually moved to tents at Long Branch, with temporary winter accommodation in Borden and Desoronto. Trainees then attended a three (later four and eventually six) week program at the university's No. 4 School. Topics of instruction included aerial navigation and meteorology, along with a study of aero engines, airframe rigging, photography, and artillery cooperation. Layered into this training program were typical recruit subjects of military law, organization structure, and standard operating procedures for military life.

No. 4 School of Military Aeronautics quickly ramped up to three concurrent courses of 150 cadets each. In order to accommodate this expanded program, the School expanded beyond its original two buildings to include the South Residence, the School of Practical Science, the Medical Building, portions of Convocation hall, the Thermodynamics building, as well as the dining halls in both University and Victoria College. By December of 1917, continued expansion of the program called for yet more space. The University faculty and administration allowed the School of Aeronautics to expand into Wycliffe College. By April 1918, No. 4 School had expanded to over 1,200 students and the breakdown of time allocated to each subject had been quantified; forty hours to engines, twenty to aerial navigation, twenty to wireless, twenty-six to rigging, and thirty to artillery observation. This final syllabus, introduced



This cartoon by J. McCrae, part of the Canadian RAF training program in 1918, parodies cadet life at the University of Toronto's No. 4 School of Aeronautics. (Source – University of Toronto Archives)

in October 1918, reinforces the ongoing importance of artillery cooperation to military aviation, even in the closing months of the Great War.

Instruction in armaments and gunnery, which was originally administered by the Cadet Wing at the U of T, moved to Long Branch along with the broader Cadet Wing. As training became more formalized, gunnery was ultimately segregated into a separate establishment. The Armament School officially moved to Hamilton in June of 1918. There, it made use of a large factory building provided by the Canadian Westinghouse Company and the grounds of the adjacent, nine-hole Hamilton Golf course. Cadets spent four to five weeks training, where they were educated in deflection shooting, synchronizer mechanisms, and the operation of the Lewis and Vickers machine guns. Bomb aiming and dropping

was also part of the curriculum. Trainee pilots and observers practiced aerial gunnery during "flying camps" after the completion of their theoretical training.

Beginning on 1 May 1917, a School of Aerial Gunnery was housed at Camp Borden. Its beginnings were modest, but the program eventually expanded such that cadets were given the opportunity to fire a Lewis gun from the rear seat of a JN-4A. The "A" model was modified with a Scarff mount in the rear cockpit. This arrangement allowed the student to hone his skills in air-to-air gunnery, without having to fly at the same time. Subsequent gunnery classes increased in size and, with the onset of winter, it was decided to move the school of aerial gunnery (along with several training squadrons) to Fort Worth, Texas. There, the RFC collaborated with the United States Signal Corps (USSC) to establish Taliaferro Fields No 1 (Hicks), 2 (Benbrook) and 3 (Everman), for their shared use in the winter of 1917. Between 17 November 1917 and 12 April 1918, 67,000 flying hours were completed in Texas and 1,960 pilots were trained or partly trained, using the southern facilities.

Back in Canada, despite a bitterly cold winter, a new home was under construction for the School of Aerial Gunnery at Beamsville. The RFC Canada School of Aerial Gunnery returned from Fort Worth to occupy this new camp in April 1917, which was renamed the School of Aerial Fighting in July 1918. Starting in 1918, students received additional instruction in artillery cooperation at Leaside aerodrome, before proceeding to the School of Aerial Fighting. Of all the RFC stations, Leaside was nearest to the City of Toronto and the most important in terms of immediate, postwar aviation.

After the completion of an RFC (later RAF) pilot training, a student moved along one of two paths. The more desirable route was to proceed overseas to join a front line squadron, much as Alan McLeod, VC (1899-1918) did in 1917. Originally from Stonewall, Manitoba, McLeod was too young to join-up when war broke out. On his eighteenth birthday, 20 April 1917 (11 days after Vimy Ridge), he caught a train to Toronto to enlist with the RFC. McLeod was one of the early students to go through the RFC Canada program and he trained at the U of T-based Cadet Wing, as opposed to the more formal No. 4 School of Military Aeronautics that developed later. This training started with basic drills, which he abhorred. Not long after, though, Alan and his fellow cadets were learning more practical subjects. He received instruction on the workings of the Lewis Machine Gun, sat through lectures on Wireless—which required him to send eighteen words per minute and receive twelve—as well as those on aircraft engines.

Course work was rigorous and McLeod complained that the instructors were cramming an eight-week course into a mere four weeks. Considering that the length of the course was later doubled, his criticisms of the pace of training were entirely reasonable. Training was also dangerous and Alan was heartbroken to learn that one of his closest friends, Allan Fraser, was killed in a flying accident at Deseronto. From U of T, McLeod then travelled to Long Branch, where his logbook records his first flight, a ten-minute affair on 4 June 1917.

Two more followed at thirty-five minutes each. Five days later, having taken six flights, totaling two-hours and fifteen minutes, McLeod soloed for the first time. As he wrote his father, he made a "bombing success" of it. The next morning, he tried again. "I went off fine and flew around for a while," but McLeod explained,

> it was so bumpy, I couldn't stay out, first the machine would dive and then it would nose up, so I thought I had better land. … I misjudged the distance and … struck hard ground and landed too suddenly. I smashed all the wires on the undercarriage and nearly broke the propeller.

Crashes like this were par for the course and Alan reassured his father that he was fine. Besides, he wrote, "we can take a machine and go up any time we like and we don't have to go up unless we want, they never say anything to you for smashing a machine. I guess I'll try again this afternoon and make a good landing."

Once he reached ten hours or so, in the middle of June, Alan then moved to Camp Borden, where he received his primary instruction on wireless communication and aerial gunnery. By August, McLeod was anxious to get overseas. He did not have to wait long and, after a short trip home to Stonewall, on 20 August he embarked for Europe at Montreal. In the UK, Alan joined 82 Squadron, where he learned to fly the Armstrong-Whitworth F.K. 8, one of the workhorses of the RFC. He reached France when he was transferred to No. 2 Squadron, RFC, again flying F.K. 8s.

The alternative to the overseas route described by McLeod, took students to the School of Special Flying at Armour Heights. There, they trained for the critical, but arguably thankless role of an instructor pilot. In the grand scheme of aviation history, if the importance of artillery cooperation and reconnaissance pilots is obscured by the legacy of aces, then the instructor pilot's role is essentially invisible. This lack of perspective ignores that teaching someone to fly is a risky proposition, requiring considerable skill and diligence. Sullivan's *Aviation in Canada* is noteworthy for not ignoring instructors, who he aptly described as pilots "too good to be sent overseas." Rather than overlook them, Sullivan argued their appointment to a training squadron was highly "honourable as well as arduous."

The RFC/RAF Canada scheme was a major undertaking. When combined with the impressive output of Ericson's Canadian Aeroplanes Limited, the program produced approximately 3,000 pilots and observers, an average of nearly 280 graduates pilots a month. The skills and knowledge cadets acquired in the skies over Southern Ontario were critical to advancing the training they received in Britain. Like the BCATP during the Second World War, Canada's instruction program was an international effort that recognized the importance of training at airfields like Camp Borden to success in the air war.

The centenary of Canadian confederation in 1967 happened to align with the fiftieth anniversary of military aviation in Canada. In the years leading up to this national celebration, the RCAF hoped to link the two events and commemorate the birth of

Camp Borden by opening a museum on the base. Establishing a Borden museum was also a way to preserve hangars built there during 1917. In 1958, all fourteen of the Great War-era hangars at Borden were originally slated for eventual removal. But, in April 1962, the air force recognized that eliminating these hangars would "result in the loss of a historical link with the origin of flying in Canada … by the RFC, RAF, CAF and RCAF, all of which have, at some stage, carried out training at that station." By the start of 1963, therefore, it was agreed that Training Command should establish a museum in Hangars Nine and Ten. The only commemorative undertaking that received more attention from the RCAF at the time was an attempt to establish a national RCAF museum in Ottawa.

To complement the preserved hangars, and to form a centerpiece for the anniversary celebrations, it was proposed that a full-scale, flying replica of the JN-4C "Canuck" be built. Ken Molson (1916-1996) of the National Aviation Museum (NAM) offered to provide an operational OX-5 engine for the project, and $5,000 worth of other materials required. Considering the Borden hangars were used to house JN-4s during the war, the Canuck project was an appropriate way to commemorate that heritage and the origins of military aviation in Canada. Ultimately, neither project proceeded, but they illustrate the RCAF Historical Section's perspective towards commemoration of early Canadian aviation history during the postwar era.

Tension remains between the desire to preserve the Borden hangars and the fiscal commitment required to do so. The historical significance of the original curved hangar line at Camp Borden is undeniable. Despite their original status as so-called 'temporary structures', most of the hangars have stood the test of time. Indeed, many continued to support flight training during the Second World War, when they were filled with Harvards, and again in the late 1960s when they housed de Havilland Canada (DHC) Chipmunks. In recognition of this long-standing contribution to Canada's air force heritage, in 1989 the eleven remaining hangars were designated as a National Historic Site. Despite this status, three of the hangars were torn down in the 1990s, including Hangar Nine, which was earmarked for preservation as part of the proposed bicentennial museum. In 1995, Hangar Eleven was renovated and opened to the public as the Air Force Annex to the Base Borden Military Museum (BBMM). Admittedly, the Canadian Forces has faced considerable budgetary challenges. In this context, the preservation of Hangar Eleven may have been considered a counterbalance to demolition of three other structures that formed part of this historic site.

THE ORIGINS OF THE WAR TROPHY COLLECTION

Aerial trophies in Canada have received passing mention, but only Kenneth Molson has subjected them to focused analysis. His primary objective was tracking down potential artefacts for the National Aviation Museum. The Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force makes meager mention of these German aircraft and fails to contextualize their provenance. The chapters that follow addresses this oversight and details the manner in which Sir Arthur Doughty, the Dominion Archivist, collaborated with likeminded individuals, both overseas and in Canada, in order to secure and display an impressive collection of aerial trophies in 1918 and 1919.

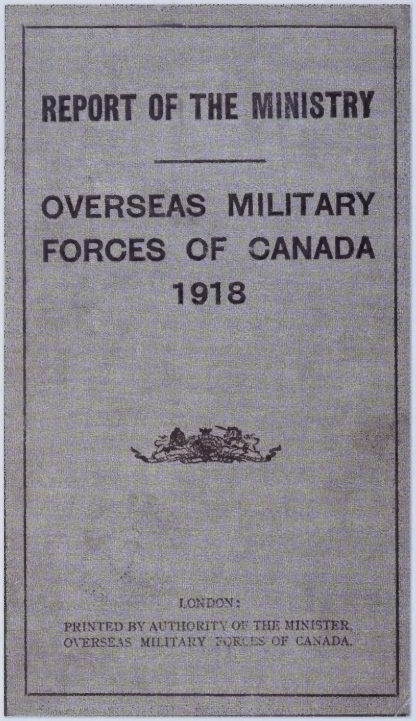
Weapons captured from an enemy on the battlefield have proved a continued source of pride for victorious nations. Both during and after the Great War, Arthur Doughty saw to it that Canadians received their fair share of German booty. The resulting trophy collection reflects the pivotal role that technology such as heavy artillery, machine guns, and aeroplanes played during the conflict. To capture a gun in combat, the enemy needs to be killed or forced to retreat with such haste that they abandon their weapons. Captured German aircraft were different. Success in aerial combat typically destroyed an enemy's flying machine. This explains why, with the exception of a single *Deutsche Flugzeug-Werke G.m.b.H.* (DFW) C.V (Av.), the aerial trophies collected by Doughty during the war largely consisted of bent or burnt components from crashed machines. After the signing of the Armistice, however, this situation changed drastically and hundreds of operational machines joined the pool of potential Canadian trophies. In terms of exhibiting such operational aircraft, they literally added another dimension to Doughty's displays, as Canadian airmen used state-of-the-art German fighters to demonstrate 'war in the air' on the home front.

A Nieuport 12, two-seat biplane, was amongst the first group of large trophies acquired in February of 1917. By late 1918, it and a DFW C.V were both in tatters after travelling throughout North America. Doughty believed that Canada could benefit from additional machines, trophies which would be

Major Arthur G. Doughty, Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Record, is shown second from the left in this image. It was taken in France, in September 1916, where he was taking the first steps to establish Canada's war trophy collection. Captain Gustave Lanctot is on the far right. (Source – Library and Archives Canada)

destined for a Canadian War Museum. As a result, he wrote to the Canadian Bureau of Aeronautical Information (CBAI) (later renamed the Technical and Supply Branch of the CAF) to "gather all possible specimens" for this collection. Today, the Bureau is practically forgotten, which partly explains why Canadian acquisition of German aircraft after the Armistice is so poorly understood. It became the coordinating body for the collection of foreign aircraft on behalf of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada (OMFC) Headquarters and the Director of War Trophies.

Two OMFC HQ staff officers were intimately involved with the organization of the CAF during the final year of the Great War. In mid-1918 Major Thomas Gibson was Assistant Deputy Minister to Sir Edward Kemp at the Overseas Ministry. Gibson was a strong advocate for the creation of a distinct Canadian air service, as Australia had done in 1916. Working under him was an enterprising young Lieutenant from Sarnia, Ontario, Robert Elgin Lloyd Lott (1891-?). In terms of coordinating the mobilization of the CAF, Lott exerted considerable influence. He championed the need to collect technical information and samples of equipment for shipment to Canada. Lott's efforts yielded much fruit and, with the backing of Gibson, he secured over seventy German aeroplanes for Canada—ranging from factory new fighters to armoured trench strafing machines to long-range Gotha bombers. This success complimented Doughty's objectives perfectly and the first aircraft shipped to the Dominion were used in trophy exhibitions during the busy display season of the "Victory Year."


REPORT OF THE MINISTRY
OVERSEAS MILITARY FORCES OF CANADA
1918
LONDON:
PRINTED BY AUTHORITY OF THE MINISTER, OVERSEAS MILITARY FORCES OF CANADA.

The Overseas Military Forces of Canada was the Government ministry that oversaw Canada's contribution to the Great War. This report was intended as a factual report outlining the activities of the Ministry. Given how long it took to write the official histories, this text ultimately took on a greater purpose for historians. (Source - Private Collection)

Arthur Doughty's visit to London in early 1919 almost certainly included a visit to the CWRO exhibition of war art, held at the Burlington House Gallery. As Director of War Trophies, one particular display likely caught his eye. The fuselage of Sopwith Snipe E8102 remains unique amongst Canadian artefacts from the Great War, in that it was *the* aircraft that Major William Barker was flying when he earned the Victoria Cross. This sophisticated weapon of war was curiously akin to the surrounding canvasses, as both consisted of a wooden frame stretched with painted linen. The details of E8102's return to England remain unclear, however, someone in the field showed atypical foresight by retaining the aircraft, perhaps because it was remarkably undamaged. Doughty certainly recognized the aircraft's historic value and felt its rightful place was in the planned Canadian War Museum. The Snipe was eventually loaded aboard the SS *Venusia,* along with the first shipment of German aircraft to leave Britain, in May 1919.

On 15 November 1918, Lott asked the Air Ministry to allocate a share of German Armistice aircraft to the Canadians. The British Air Ministry agreed to provide the CAF with twenty German aircraft and requested they take delivery of them in France. The CAF would send an officer to collect the machines, although there was disagreement over whether Canadian pilots should be responsible for ferrying them across the channel. In mid-December, while the CAF negotiated delivery of this gift of German aircraft, authorities on the continent were still attempting to ensure German compliance with the Armistice terms.

Within the American zone of occupation, much of the aircraft inspection was conducted at Coblenz, whereas the English collected machines at Cologne and the French at Mayence. Each machine was inspected upon arrival, whether delivered by rail, truck, or by air. Aircraft were divided into batches, with one of every twenty selected for testing. If

REPORT "H"

AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES,
U. S. AIR SERVICE.

Paris, January 15, 1919.

REPORT OF INSPECTION OF GERMAN AIRPLANES AT

VILLERS-LE-CHEVREL, COSNES, EAST AND WEST

FIELDS, and TELLANCOURT.

.....

VILLERS-LE-CHEVREL.

This field is situated on the main road from LIGNY to L'ENGUYON. It seems quite evident that when the Germans abandoned these airplanes they rendered them unserviceable by removing entirely some of the magnetos and the breaker points and distributers of others. Many new tires were deliberately slashed with a knife.

Before these airplanes were put under guard souvenir hunters cut the insignia from the wings, tail and rudder of many of them; and removed or broke some of the instruments on some of them.

Until recently these airplanes have been standing out of doors unprotected from the weather and inadequately guarded. At the present time they have been put into the hangars and are being boarded up.

The JUNKER type of airplane is heavily armored from the nose to the end of the observer's cockpit. The rest of the fuselage is covered with fabric. The frame of both fuselage and wings is metal tubing. The wings and tail surfaces are a thin corrugated metal instead of fabric. There are no wires and no struts between the planes at the ends.

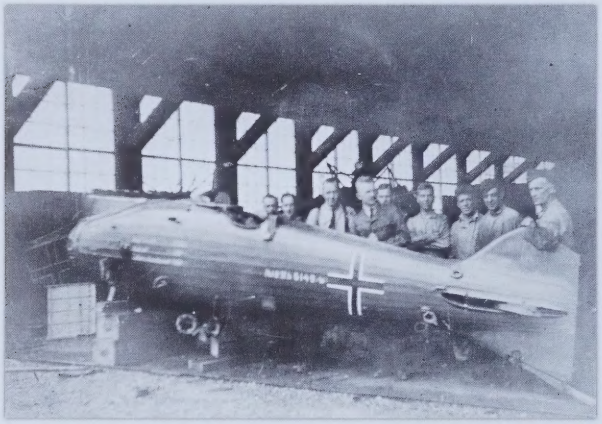
The A.E.G. G IV and G V types of airplanes are bi-motor night bombing planes; the G V being larger than the G IV type.

AIRPLANE TYPE AND NUMBER.	CONDITION.	REMARKS.
(In Hangar #1 towards LIGNY)		
1. JUNKER I. j/a 595 Motor: Benz.	Unserviceable.	Lower wing battered in where walked on near fuselage. Tires bad. Fabric torn from fuselage.
2. In Hangar #2, A.E.G., G.V. 652 Motors: 2 Mercedes	Unserviceable.	Both propellers useless. Spark plugs missing. Motor misty. Insignia cut from fuselage and rudder. Wires rusty. Conditions of wings good. Two gas gages gone. Part of motor hood missi

This excerpt from Gorrell's History of the American Expeditionary Forces Air Services 1917-1919 is the first page of a report detailing the surrender of various German aeroplanes to the AEF in January 1919, in order to satisfy the terms of the 11 November Armistice Agreement. (Source – National Archives and Record Administration)

rejected, it was replaced by twenty horses. Deliveries by rail car had the added advantage that both the car and its contents could be counted as Armistice material. After passing the requisite testing and inspections, aircraft were sent to the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) Air Service Production Centre (ASPC) No 2 at Romorantin, near Tours. After the aeroplanes were unloaded at Romorantin, the rolling stock was placed at the disposal of the Inter-Allied Railway Commission.

The first major shipment of aircraft received by the AEF arrived at Coblenz on 30 December 1918. It was made up entirely of Fokker D.VII fighters, three of which were eventually shipped to Canada and displayed in flight over Toronto. Another collection of German aircraft rolled into Coblenz on New Year's day, 1919. As with the first shipment, thirty-one of the aircraft were a mix of OAW and Fokker built D.VIIs, while the remaining thirty were Roland D.VIb, single seat fighters. Four of these Roland and one of the Fokkers also made their way into Canadian hands after several months of storage at Romorantin.



Taken at Leaside in the summer of 1919, the primary subject of this photograph is Roland D.VIb 6149/18. This was one of the aircraft surrendered to the AEF and allocated to Canada. Deeper inside the hangar, one can see a variety of other aircraft from the trophy collection. (Source – Canada Aviation and Space Museum)

Collection at Coblenz continued apace, with a third large shipment arriving on 2 January 1919. In addition to another large group of unused Fokker D.VII aircraft, this hoard included a diverse group of serviceable machines, which had seen service with the *Luftstreitkräfte*. Three examples of the Albatros D.V that were later shipped to Canada were among those accepted. In addition to the aeroplanes shipped to Coblenz by rail, the AEF took custody of aircraft that were abandoned at German airfields. Over one hundred machines were inspected and claimed from the Zeppelin hangars at Treves aerodrome on 8 January 1919. Their condition and type varied considerably, from crashed hulks to nearly new aircraft that, after acceptance, were assigned by General Billy Mitchell (1879-1936) to American Squadrons in the field.

Other German airfields where abandoned aircraft were claimed by the American Air Service included Cosens (East and West), Tellancourt, and Villeres-Le-Chevers. As opposed to the preponderance of single seat fighters surrendered at Coblenz or abandoned at Trevers, the hangars at Villeres-Le-Chevers almost exclusively contained Junker's Jfa J.1 all metal trench strafing machines and short range A.E.G. Bombers of the G.IV and G.V variety. Once again,

the condition of these machines varied. Most were deemed unserviceable and detailed descriptions of every airframe were submitted with the acceptance reports of inspected machines. As an example, the description provided for Junkers J.1 586/18 read:

> Unserviceable
>
> Fuselage Fabric torn off. Metal torn off portions of lower wing. Lower wing crumpled near fuselage. One magneto and six spark plugs gone. Condition bad.

It is a noteworthy description because it refers to the specific Junkers J.1 that became a centerpiece of Doughty's war trophy displays in Toronto and Hamilton. As of 2015, this aircraft is held by the CAvSM in Ottawa and is the last surviving example of the type. It is often described as being in highly original, but 'poor' condition. Based on the above report, its current state is very much in keeping with the condition in which it was received by the AEF on 13 January 1919.

Throughout early 1919, the American air service was intent on subjecting surrendered German aircraft to rigorous technical evaluation. By mid-March, the process of inspecting Armistice materiel was complete and a batch of sixteen German aircraft was authorized for shipment to the United States. Col Halsey Dunwoody (1881-1952) of the AEF Air Service instructed that fourteen Armistice aircraft should be ceded "to the British services, for the use of the Canadian Air Force." Col Butterfield, head of the American Technical Section, notified his counterpart at the CAF Technical and Supply Branch that the machines could be obtained from the American stockpiles at Romorantin in disassembled condition.

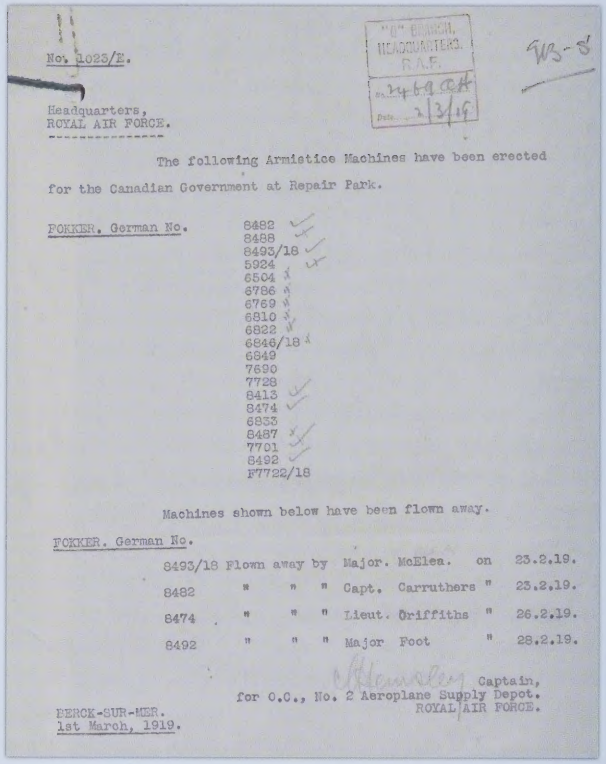
Lott arranged for Captain Cyril Horsfield (1884-1938), of the CAF Supply Section, to visit Butterfield in order to discuss the arrangement. The result was a gracious offer from the Americans to pack the aircraft themselves at Romorantin, free of charge, and forward them to the CAF. In comparison to negotiations with the Air Ministry in Britain, dealing with the Americans was a considerably faster and more straightforward process. The overall number of aircraft the AEF ceded to Canada may have been smaller, but later in 1919 the most prominent aircraft in Doughty's trophy displays were all from this group of aeroplanes gifted by the United States to Canada.

During the third week in January 1919, Lott met with Doughty and the two discussed prospects for securing additional German aircraft. Both men were skilled at acquiring material they considered of value to Canada. The twenty German aeroplanes promised by the Air Ministry in the fall had been forwarded to a channel port for collection by Canadian authorities. Captain Frank Chipman Higgins (1892-?) assembled an itemized list of foreign equipment sought by the CBAI in an effort to obtain a "more comprehensive range of samples and parts than would otherwise be the case if merely a general request was made for everything and nothing in particular." Their goal was to provide Canada with a comprehensive and worthwhile sample of German technology. Lott forwarded this list to Folger and informed him that preparations by the CAF for reception of these

aircraft were well in hand. An experienced Canadian officer would proceed to the continent in order to oversee the selection, erection, and transport of German aircraft to England. In addition to the CAF facilities at Upper Heyford, the RAF also allocated a large hangar at Chingford for the purpose of crating German aircraft destined for Canada.

Doughty had minimal direct involvement in the collection of these machines, but as Director of War Trophies he sanctioned the exercise on the understanding they would be added to the trophy collection upon reaching Canada. Secure in the knowledge that Lott, an ambitious and like-minded cadger, was applying his full energy towards the task of securing 'hun busses,' Doughty returned home in February. Immediately upon his return, he continued to work with the Commission on War Records and Trophies to ensure that there would be suitable and permanent home for these aeroplanes in Canada.

The primary point of contact for coordinating and encouraging this collection remained the indefatigable Captain Lott. Once the twenty Fokkers from the RAF reached the CAF in England, they needed to be packed with care in tin-lined and sealed containers. This was to protect their wood and linen structure from water and moisture damage during the Atlantic crossing. Even the disassembly and handling of the aircraft required appropriate expertise (as demonstrated by the deteriorating condition of the DFW C.V in Canada), especially considering these trophies were slated for permanent display in Canada. In mid-February, fifty men were sent to No. 6 Stores Depot in Halton Park for



No. 1023/E.

Headquarters,
ROYAL AIR FORCE.

The following Armistice Machines have been erected for the Canadian Government at Repair Park.

FOKKER. German No.

8482
8488
8493/18
8524
8504
8786
8769
8810
8822
8846/18
8849
7690
7728
8413
8474
8833
8487
7701
8492
F7722/18

Machines shown below have been flown away.

FOKKER. German No.

8493/18 Flown away by Major. McElea. on 23.2.19.
8482 " " " Capt. Carruthers " 23.2.19.
8474 " " " Lieut. Griffiths " 26.2.19.
8492 " " " Major Foot " 28.2.19.

for O.C., No. 2 Aeroplane Supply Depot.
Captain,
ROYAL AIR FORCE.

PERCK-SUR-MER.
1st March, 1919.

This memo to RAF Headquarters lists serial numbers for the twenty Fokker D.VII aircraft that were allocated to the fledgling Canadian Air Force in the opening months of 1919. (Source – National Archives [UK])

training in the crating of aircraft. One was Sergeant Benjamin Mulcahey (1889-?), a thirty-year-old native of Toronto who had enlisted with the 169th Battalion early in 1916.

In civilian life, Mulcahey worked as a motorman and this prior mechanical experience made him a desirable candidate for the CAF in late 1918. When he sailed

for England in February 1917, he left behind a wife and two young children. Unlike most members of the CAF in England, who were demobilized during the summer of 1919, Mulcahey was among the few who made up the CAF Packing Section that prepared the 'Imperial Gift' aircraft for shipment to Canada. He was well prepared for this work, which kept him occupied until February of 1920.

In March 1919, the twenty Fokker D.VIIs were shipped to the RAF's No. 2 Aeroplane Supply Depot (ASD) at Candas, where they were erected for ferry flights across the Channel. As Lott had promised, a Canadian officer was dispatched to France to oversee the acquisition of German aircraft. Captain Douglas Carruthers (1891-?), a Flight Commander in No. 2 Squadron, flew one of the CAF's two-seat DH9a aircraft. Beginning in January, a regular aerial taxi service between England and France was operated by a detached flight of the Day Bomber Squadron based at Hounslow Airfield, located approximately halfway between the modern Heathrow Airport and Kew Gardens in London. The war trophy aircraft were readied for flight in a Repair Park at Rang du Fliers, fifty miles from Candas. As required, Carruthers cabled his Squadron mates asking for the requisite number of pilots, who were then flown to France via DH9 from Hounslow to pick up the Fokkers.

On 23 February 1919, the first pair of war trophy Fokkers crossed to England with Carruthers at the controls of Fok. D.VII 8482/18. Almost immediately after their arrival, these German fighters were put to use by Canadian pilots at No. 1 (Fighter) Squadron. Lieutenant Barry Truscott (1895-?), a native of New Jersey, flew Fok. D.VII 8493/18 the day after its arrival at Upper Heyford. He described it in his logbook as a "[v]ery excellent machine." Before long, this particular Fokker was emblazoned with the No. 1 Squadron logo of a green maple leaf, outlined in white, and overlaid with a white '1'. As the CAF made increasing use of these machines, some senior RAF officers expressed doubts as to whether or not Canada really required foreign aircraft.

Lott's supervisor at the OMFC, Lt Col Gibson, knew that German aeroplanes could be put to many uses and, like Doughty, he believed it was "of great benefit" to gather trophies which could be used both for "propaganda" and as a source for revenue. Potential exhibitions, he explained, might include

Major Andrew McKeever, Commander of Number 1 Squadron, Canadian Air Force, poses in front of one of the war trophy Fokkers that was branded with the No. 1 Sqn logo. This image was captured by the Canadian War Records Office when they visited Uppper Heyford in March of 1919. (Source – University of Western Ontario Archives)

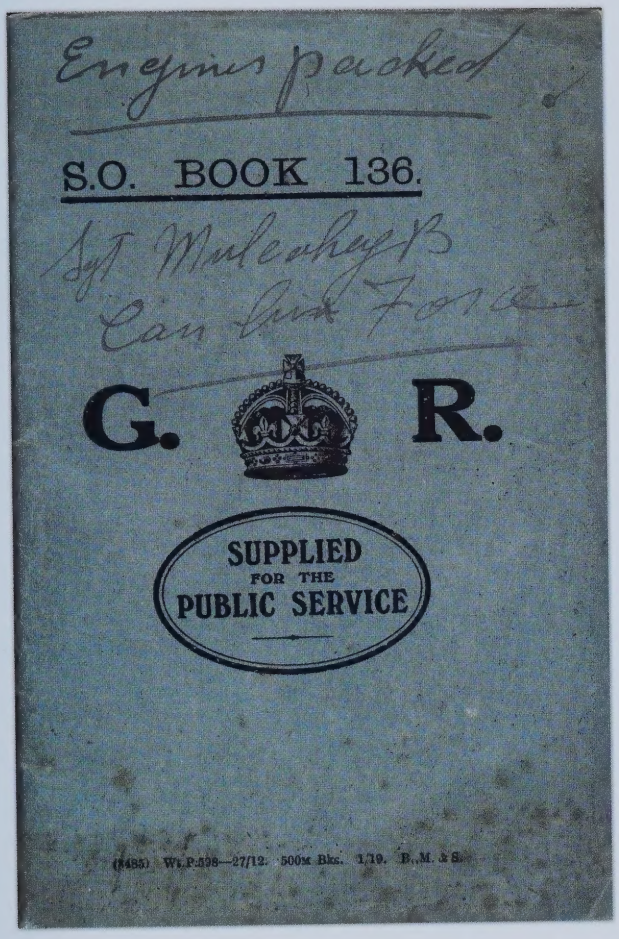
"the machine of Major Barker VC, three damaged enemy aeroplanes, and number up to fifteen of different types of enemy aeroplanes, enemy aerial bombs, airman's clothing, and photographs." Doughty's exhibitions in the latter half of 1919 hewed closely to Gibson's vision, with the notable addition of German aircraft that were displayed in flight.

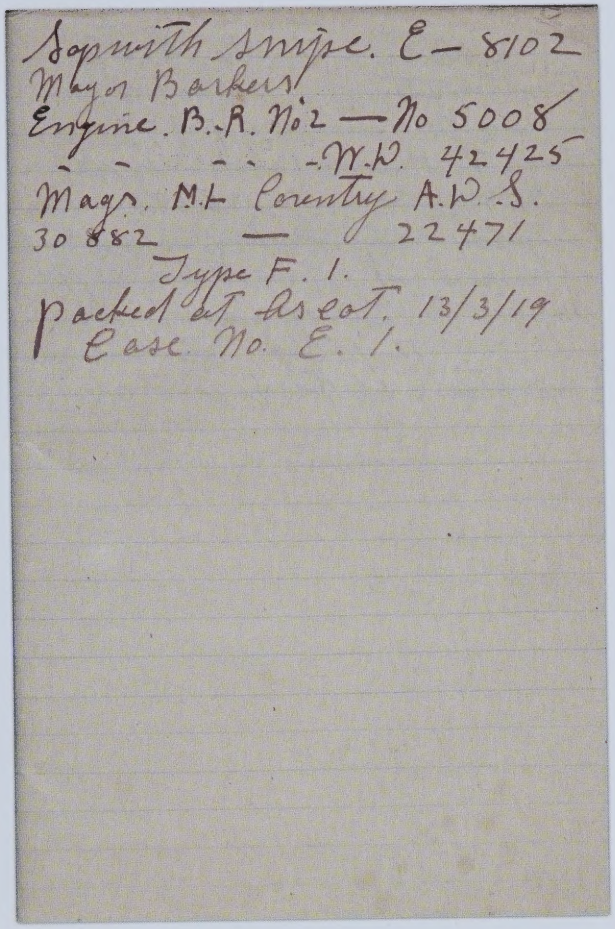
By mid-March, the Canadians trained at Ascot were ready to begin packing actual aircraft. On 13 March 1919, William Barker's Sopwith Snipe was their first assignment. Later that day they disassembled Fok. D.VII 8474/18, packing its Mercedes engine separately as they did for most of the aeroplanes sent to Doughty. Mulcahey duly noted the relevant serials for these machines in his notebook, as well as the case number into which they were packed, so their contents could be tracked. Like the arrival of German aircraft from France, the packing was completed at a sporadic pace over several months, thus allowing the pilots at Upper Heyford to continue flying Fokkers regularly. On the same day that Mulcahey oversaw the packing of these first two machines, Lt Truscott flew 8493/18 and was once again impressed with the aircraft.

A British airman, Major Williams, departed France in Fok. D.VII 7701/18 on 1 March, yet somehow he only delivered it into Canadian custody three weeks later. This was not the only incident of German aircraft, supposedly in Canadian custody, ending up in unexpected circumstances. Lt Cosgrove delivered 6786/18 into Canadian custody on 5 March, but later in the month the machine was written off at Biggin Hill airfield south of London. It was stripped of all adjustable parts and otherwise abandoned. Fokker D.VII 8413/18 was damaged upon arrival in England on 1 March, yet was sent to Mulcahey and crew in Ascot for packing several weeks later. The Canadian pilots were undeterred by the smattering of missing German aircraft and continued to fly the Fokkers in their custody. In his memoir, Richard W. Ryan (1896-1993) recalled how he and the other pilots regularly used Fokker D.VIIs in practice "dog fights" against their British fighters. Truscott piloted 8493/18 in a mock combat with Lieutenant E.A. Kenny in early April. The Fokker's were available to most everyone from the Squadron CO to more junior pilots like Ryan and Truscott.

In late March, the OMFC began searching for a CAF officer who could be sent to Canada and placed in charge of the Enemy Aircraft (EA) Exhibition. Such an airman was needed because Doughty and his staff had no practical experience in the handling of aircraft. Near the end of April, Lott provided details for inclusion in a report to Cabinet, including the interesting observation with respect to war trophy aircraft that "we will have sufficient [German] machines in this 50 to maintain 25 in service for a period of 12 months and spares for replacement for the 25 for 12 months" upon arrival in Canada. He also noted that the 14 machines from the AEF were in "first class condition" and seven of them could be operational for 12 months, with spare parts.

According to a report from the CAF's Technical and Supply Branch, the collection, packing, and shipment of German aircraft was of interest "for





This notebook is a remarkable document, in that it is the hand-written shipping record for the aircraft packed by the CAF in England for Shipment to Doughty in Canada. The cover indicates that it was filled out by Sergeant Benjamin Mulcahey and the first page happens to be the shipping details for "Major Barker's" Sopwith Snipe E8109. (Source - Private Collection)

exhibition purposes, and for comparative study at a School of Aeronautics." Later, during the summer of 1919, it was claimed that enemy aircraft were intended for "exhibition purposes only," despite no clear directive to this effect. Admittedly, Lott used the phrase "exhibition purposes," but his report was not intended to dictate exclusive uses for the trophy aircraft. A stronger argument against flying German aircraft in Canada, though certainly not a binding agreement, was that it might jeopardize British prestige if English aircraft performance did not compare favourably with foreign designs. The intended purposes in Canada aside, crating of aircraft in Britain proceeded apace. The first shipment of Armistice aircraft to Canada was expected to depart around 15 May and Doughty hoped that some of the more unique aircraft from the AEF, such as the Junkers and A.E.G., would be included. The remaining aircraft followed over the summer of 1919, as they arrived in England and were packed by Mulcahey's men in Chingford.

Lott's report explicitly laid out the importance of German aircraft to the overall programme of the Technical and Supply Branch and its predecessor organization, the CBAI. "The Exhibition of Enemy Aircraft and equipment," he wrote, "has been considered as of primary importance, as being of Public interest." Lott further discussed the need for two officers and ten Other Ranks to "accompany this Exhibit and be held responsible to the Director of War Trophies at Ottawa for safe custody, erection, dismantling and repacking of aircraft and transportation from place to place." This was the plan at least, and a sound one that would hopefully prevent these aircraft from disintegrating as Doughty's DFW C.V (Av.) had during the war. One officer was to be a pilot and the other a Technical Captain, whose secondary duty was to prepare for the arrival of the CAF in Canada. Until mid-summer 1919, it was unclear whether the CAF would be repatriated or demobilized. The resulting delay created a unique situation whereby factory-new, state-of-the-art, fighter aircraft were under the direct control of the Dominion Archivist of Canada.

Captain Lawson of No. 2 Squadron returned to France and worked with Carruthers in May to secure the five Gotha aircraft the Lott had pushed hard to acquire. German aircraft continued to be flown from Rang du Fliers as they were readied for ferry flights. A mix of RAF and CAF pilots delivered the first Fokkers, but by May the responsibility lay entirely with Canadian fliers. In the rush to get the trophies out of France there were occasional close calls. Lt R.W. Ryan received a special assignment to fly a number of German aircraft to England, including a Pfalz D.XII fighter. Apparently, a mistake was made fueling the aircraft and, "bucking a stiff head wind," Ryan "barely [had] enough fuel to reach the Dover airport." Thankfully, the pilot had "enough height to glide to the airport and make a safe landing. Ryan escaped the episode without incident and, much like an earlier crash at Biggin Hill, little came from the mishap. Engine failures and accidents while flying high performance fighters were an accepted risk. A certain wastage of machines was expected, hence Lott's efforts to secure spares for frequently damaged parts like propellers, wheels, and undercarriage

Taken by CWRO photographers in March of 1919, this image is one of a series that show four Fokker D.VIIs in CAF custody. Through examination of all three images, it can be determined that the aircraft are, from nearest to farthest, 6822/18, 6810/18, 6769/18 and 5924/18. (Source – Library and Archives Canada)

assemblies to permit the German trophies to be flown upon their arrival in Canada, if so desired.

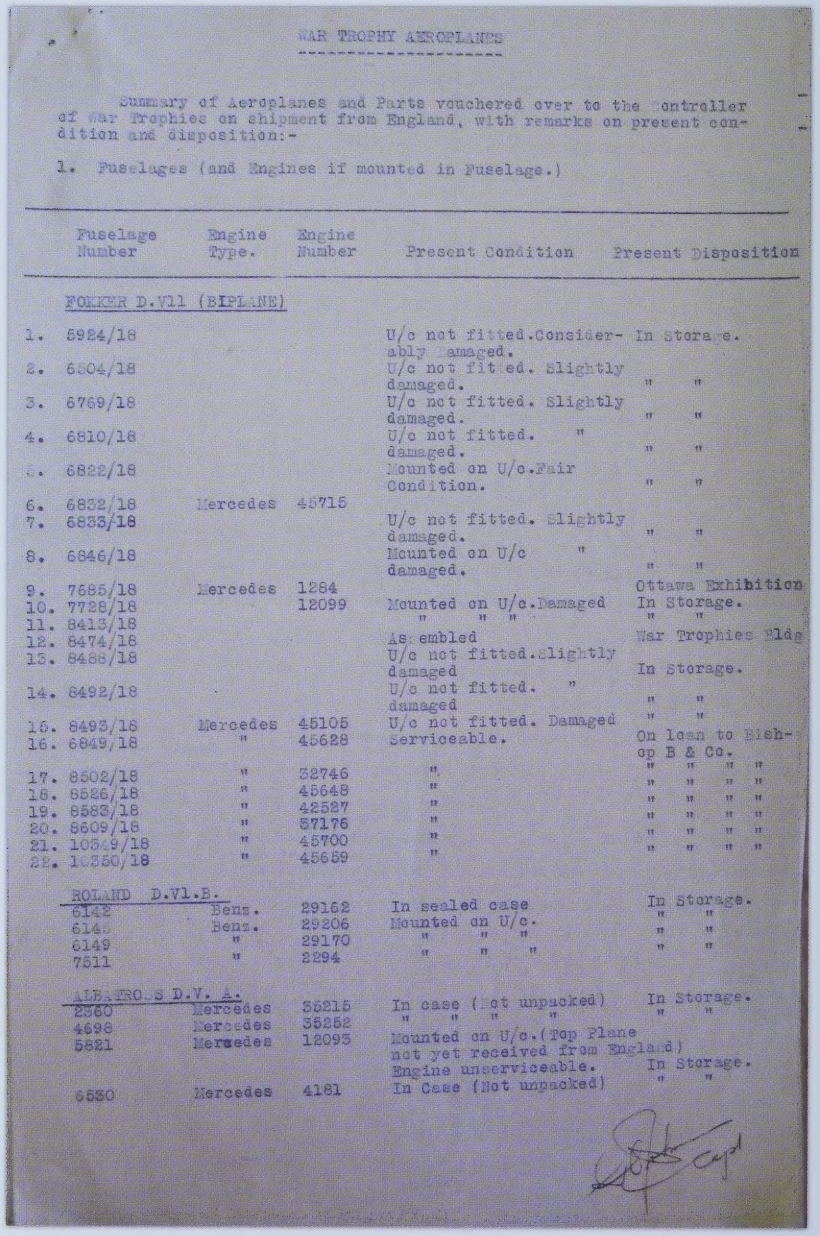
Prior to the cessation of hostilities in November 1918, Arthur Doughty made good use of the French Nieuport and German DFW aircraft in his custody, as centerpieces for travelling trophy displays. The terms of the Armistice were designed to deprive the German army of sufficient war materiel that it would be unable to resume hostilities. Neither Doughty, nor the CAF, collected any aircraft from the Germans directly. This task fell to the French, British, and American armies in the field that were responsible for handling and inspecting the requisite "1,700 pursuit and bombardment airplanes, preference being given to all of the D-7s [sic] and all of the night bombardment machines." Within weeks of the Armistice coming into effect, officers of the CAF and the Overseas Ministry made overtures to acquire a portion of this material from the British Air Ministry. These aircraft were eventually sent to Canada as part of Doughty's trophy collection, but the Canadian Bureau of Aeronautical Information originally acquired them as technical resources. While in CAF custody, they were also used to supplement standard service machines because some Canadian airmen considered the German aircraft to have superior performance.

Once Arthur Doughty met with Captain Lloyd Lott in January of 1919, the Canadian Air Force took on an increasingly active role in the collection, packing, and shipment of German aircraft to Canada. The Canadian Bureau of Aeronautical Information was established, largely as a result of Lott's efforts, for the explicit purpose of collecting aviation materiel for shipment to the Dominion. This was the lens through which the Technical Branch of the CAF viewed foreign aircraft – as technical resources. In contrast, the airmen of the Canadian squadrons saw them as another type of machine to supplement their training. Experienced Canadian pilots regularly flew German Armistice aircraft alongside their standard service machines, often in mock combat to increase the realism of their training. The Director of War Trophies had yet another perspective on these same aeroplanes. He viewed them as powerful symbols of victory and as artefacts that warranted permanent preservation in a national museum. German war trophy aircraft meant different thing to these groups, but most everyone shared the opinion that the largest possible collection of Armistice aircraft should be secured for Canada.

AERIAL TROPHIES IN CANADA

German war materiel of every conceivable description was claimed and repatriated by the Allied powers, during and after the Great War. Aeroplanes were a unique category of trophy and, after the Armistice, one that Canadians took a particular interest in acquiring. Beyond tangible symbols of victory, aerial trophies were distinct because of their utility as state-of-the-art flying machines. Aeroplanes were not commonplace for Canadians and Doughty's war trophy displays provided an opportunity for thousands across the Dominion to get a close up look at an actual war-fighting aeroplane. Officials at the Ministry of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada were instrumental in securing examples of foreign aircraft during 1919. The forgotten history of Doughty and the war trophies reveals why the modern Canadian War Museum and Canada Aviation Museum possess unique and historically significant aviation artefacts from the Great War.

In the opening months of 1919, Doughty sanctioned the work of the CBAI and, as a result, German aircraft were essentially at the disposal of the CAF until their shipment to Canada in the summer of 1919. When the trophies arrived, the final fate of the overseas CAF was as yet undecided. An advance party of CAF mechanics was to handle the German aircraft in Canada, but did not arrive until late summer. As a result, upon their arrival, Doughty's 'hun busses', came into the custody of leading figures in Toronto's pro-aviation lobby. During that summer's Canadian National Exhibition, airmen put on spectacular displays of air fighting using these state-of-the-art Fokker D.VII fighters. Conflict between Doughty and certain officials on the Air Board arose because Lieutenant Colonel Robert Leckie (1890-1975), former Commanding Officer of No. 1 Wing CAF, was determined to curtail flying of captured aircraft. He felt that they were not structurally sound and believed that display flying in Canada ignored the conditions stipulated by the Air Ministry when they allocated German aircraft to the CAF. Fortunately, senior Government officials in Ottawa were sympathetic to Doughty's objective to establish a permanent home for the war trophy collection, including at least some of the German aeroplanes.

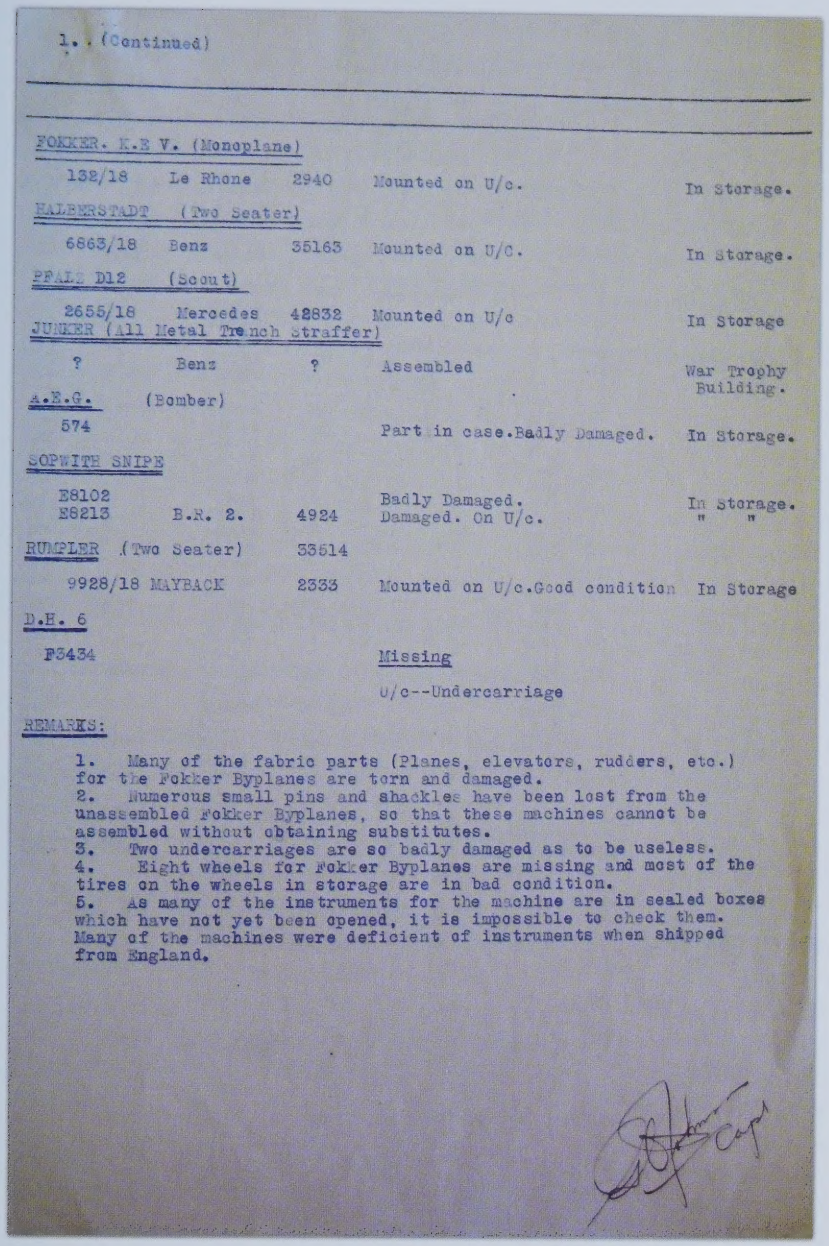


WAR TROPHY AEROPLANES

Summary of Aeroplanes and Parts vouchered over to the Controller of War Trophies on shipment from England, with remarks on present condition and disposition:-

1. Fuselages (and Engines if mounted in Fuselage.)

	Fuselage Number	Engine Type.	Engine Number	Present Condition	Present Disposition
	FOKKER D.Vll (BIPLANE)				
1.	5924/18			U/c not fitted. Considerably Damaged.	In Storage.
2.	6504/18			U/c not fitted. Slightly damaged.	" "
3.	6769/18			U/c not fitted. Slightly damaged.	" "
4.	6810/18			U/c not fitted. " damaged.	" "
5.	6822/18			Mounted on U/c. Fair Condition.	" "
6.	6832/18	Mercedes	45715		
7.	6833/18			U/c not fitted. Slightly damaged.	" "
8.	6846/18			Mounted on U/c " damaged.	" "
9.	7685/18	Mercedes	1284		Ottawa Exhibition
10.	7728/18		12099	Mounted on U/c. Damaged	In Storage.
11.	8413/18			" " "	" "
12.	8474/18			Assembled	War Trophies Bldg
13.	8488/18			U/c not fitted. Slightly damaged	In Storage.
14.	8492/18			U/c not fitted. " damaged	" "
15.	8493/18	Mercedes	45105	U/c not fitted. Damaged	" "
16.	6849/18	"	45628	Serviceable.	On loan to Bishop B & Co.
17.	8502/18	"	32746	"	" " " "
18.	8526/18	"	45648	"	" " " "
19.	8583/18	"	42527	"	" " " "
20.	8609/18	"	37176	"	" " " "
21.	10349/18	"	45700	"	" " " "
22.	10350/18	"	45659	"	" " " "
	ROLAND D.Vl.B.				
	6142	Benz.	29162	In sealed case	In Storage.
	6145	Benz.	29206	Mounted on U/c.	" "
	6149	"	29170	" " "	" "
	7511	"	2294	" " "	" "
	ALBATROS D.V. A.				
	2360	Mercedes	35215	In case (Not unpacked)	In Storage.
	4698	Mercedes	35252	" " " "	" "
	5821	Mercedes	12093	Mounted on U/c. (Top Plane not yet received from England) Engine unserviceable.	In Storage.
	6530	Mercedes	4181	In Case (Not unpacked)	" "



1. (Continued)

FOKKER. K.E V. (Monoplane)

132/18	Le Rhone	2940	Mounted on U/c.	In Storage.

HALBERSTADT (Two Seater)

6863/18	Benz	35163	Mounted on U/C.	In Storage.

PFALZ D12 (Scout)

2655/18	Mercedes	42832	Mounted on U/c	In Storage

JUNKER (All Metal Trench Straffer)

?	Benz	?	Assembled	War Trophy Building.

A.E.G. (Bomber)

574			Part in case.Badly Damaged.	In Storage.

SOPWITH SNIPE

E8102			Badly Damaged.	In Storage.
E8213	B.R. 2.	4924	Damaged. On U/c.	" "

RUMPLER (Two Seater) 33514

9928/18	MAYBACK	2333	Mounted on U/c.Good condition	In Storage

D.H. 6

F5434			Missing	

U/c--Undercarriage

REMARKS:

1. Many of the fabric parts (Planes, elevators, rudders, etc.) for the Fokker Byplanes are torn and damaged.
2. Numerous small pins and shackles have been lost from the unassembled Fokker Byplanes, so that these machines cannot be assembled without obtaining substitutes.
3. Two undercarriages are so badly damaged as to be useless.
4. Eight wheels for Fokker Byplanes are missing and most of the tires on the wheels in storage are in bad condition.
5. As many of the instruments for the machine are in sealed boxes which have not yet been opened, it is impossible to check them. Many of the machines were deficient of instruments when shipped from England.

Produced by Captain G.O Johnson in September 1919, this list enumerates which war trophy aircraft and engines were actually received in Canada. Although thirty-nine aircraft are included in this list, the total number of aircraft collected by Captain Lloyd Lott in England was closer to 100. (Source – Library and Archives Canada)

On 11 December 1918, the Privy Council created the Commission on War Records and Trophies. Sir Edmund Walker (1848 – 1924), a prominent Toronto banker and President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, served as the Commission's Chairman. Sir Arthur Doughty represented the archives in his capacity as Director of War Trophies, and Brigadier General Ernest Cruikshank (1853 – 1939), who represented the Department of Militia and Defence, acted as the Commission's Secretary. They were tasked with reporting on the provision of "suitable accommodation" for war records and trophies.

Walker was a dedicated patron of the arts who, in 1913, became the Chairman of the National Gallery of Canada's (NGC) first Board of Trustees. He held both positions until his death, in 1924. During the war, he gradually became involved with the CWMF as its Canadian representative. Sir Edmund wished to link the construction of a permanent home for the NGC to the Commission's proposed memorial to house CWMF art. At the same time, he was probably the most vocal advocate of the need for purpose-built structures to properly store the innumerable war documents being collected.

Cruikshank was selected because of his position as Director of the Army Historical Section. As the official historian, he would be the primary user of the war records and thus had a clear interest in their postwar storage. At the same time, Cruikshank was the voice of the Militia Department with respect to ultimate disposition of the war trophy collection. In part, such a role was necessary because some Commanding Officers overseas took the liberty of writing home and promising that a particular captured gun would be presented to their *alma mater* or hometown after the war. Even when no specific promise had been made, communities, schools, and individuals across the country sought tangible reminders of Canadian success on the battlefield. This desire produced a steadily increasing flow of requests to share in the spoils of war.

The most influential figure in the handling of these war trophies was undoubtedly Arthur Doughty, who served as the Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Records from 1903 until 1935. In France and Flanders, the Canadian Corps captured several thousand pieces of field artillery, trench mortars, and machine guns on the battlefield, particularly during the rapid advance in the last Hundred Days. Other war-related materiel had been collected from both the Imperial and various foreign governments during the war, which was supplemented by the surrender of German equipment called for in the Armistice of 11 November 1918. According to Ian Wilson (b.1943), Librarian and Archivist of Canada between 2004 and 2009, Doughty:

> paid little heed to the distinctions between archives, libraries, museums and art galleries. By emphasizing the romance of the past and the importance of drawing upon all forms of evidence to simulate the imagination, Doughty extended the normal interests of archives.

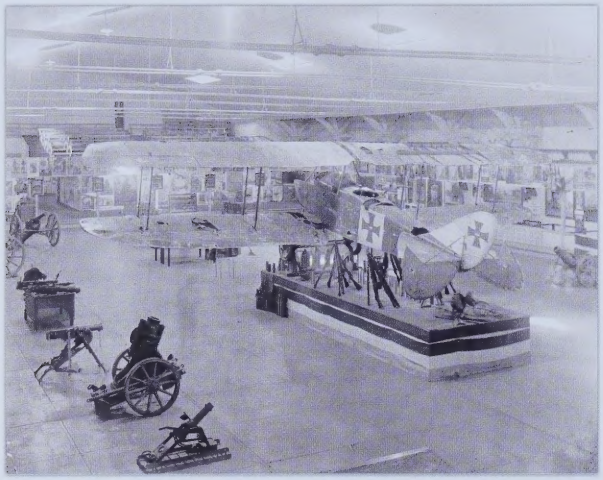
It is hardly surprising, based on this description, that when Doughty formally became Director of War Trophies in 1917, he approached the job with particular zeal.

From his earliest involvement with the trophies, the Dominion Archivist remained steadfast that the most interesting parts of the collection must be reserved for a Canadian War Museum in Ottawa. At the same time, he was not unaware of their immediate value to the war effort on the home front. To satisfy the interest of Canadians, some of the early trophies were compiled into travelling displays that were viewed by millions of people across North America. These exhibits were used to raise funds for war related charities, to galvanize public opinion in support of the war effort, and to promote the achievements of Canadian troops on the battlefield. These exhibitions, and even more so the larger displays in the second half of 1919, foreshadowed the Hall of Trophies Doughty planned to organize if plans for a memorial museum in Ottawa succeeded.

A respectable collection of trophies had been returned to Canada during the war, but the surrender of war materiel following the Armistice dramatically expanded the trophy collection. The Commission on War Records was flooded with "daily" requests asking for examples of these trophies for display. Prior to determining a policy to deal with such requests, Doughty proposed that a core selection of trophies be retained for display in the National Memorial War Museum. Early in 1920, a detailed programme of distribution was eventually devised, but it made little sense to discuss the question of distributing the trophies until they had been returned to Canada and properly assessed.

Doughty knew that the organizers of the CNE in Toronto were keen to have a large display of trophies. He was also aware that the fair's grounds included large buildings located in close proximity to rail lines, an important factor considering the size and weight of the largest howitzers and artillery pieces. Based on preliminary conversations with CNE staff, Doughty proposed that a large proportion of the trophies could be sent directly to Toronto for storage upon their arrival in Canada. In exchange for a large display of trophies during the annual fair, the eventual agreement provided free storage for the trophy collection on the CNE grounds until 1 April 1920. There was no mention whatsoever of aircraft in this agreement, nor aerial displays, but there was an agreement pertaining to the display of a German U-Boat. This lack of dialogue about German aeroplanes reflected how little Doughty and the Commission knew about the handling of armistice aircraft at this juncture.

As early as March 1919, Doughty planned on orchestrating a handful of large-scale exhibitions that would make the best use of recently acquired trophies. At the same time, he also faced a multitude of requests for trophies from small agricultural fairs. These posed fiscal and logistical challenges, including heavy transportation costs, and Doughty was concerned that smaller exhibitions "would not create a favourable impression" of Canada's burgeoning trophy collection. Later, his position towards smaller shows softened and, after Armistice material began arriving in 1919, Doughty granted requests from twenty-six of them. He still preferred larger venues, however, and, in the second half of 1919, he put on impressive displays in Sherbrooke, Toronto, and Hamilton. One of the most prominent features of



This Deutsche Flugzeug-Werke G.m.b.H. (DFW) C.V (Av) toured North America during 1917 and 1918 as part of the "supplemental collection" of war trophies. It is pictured here on display in Western Canada, giving a sense of the scale of the wartime exhibitions. (Source - Library and Archives Canada

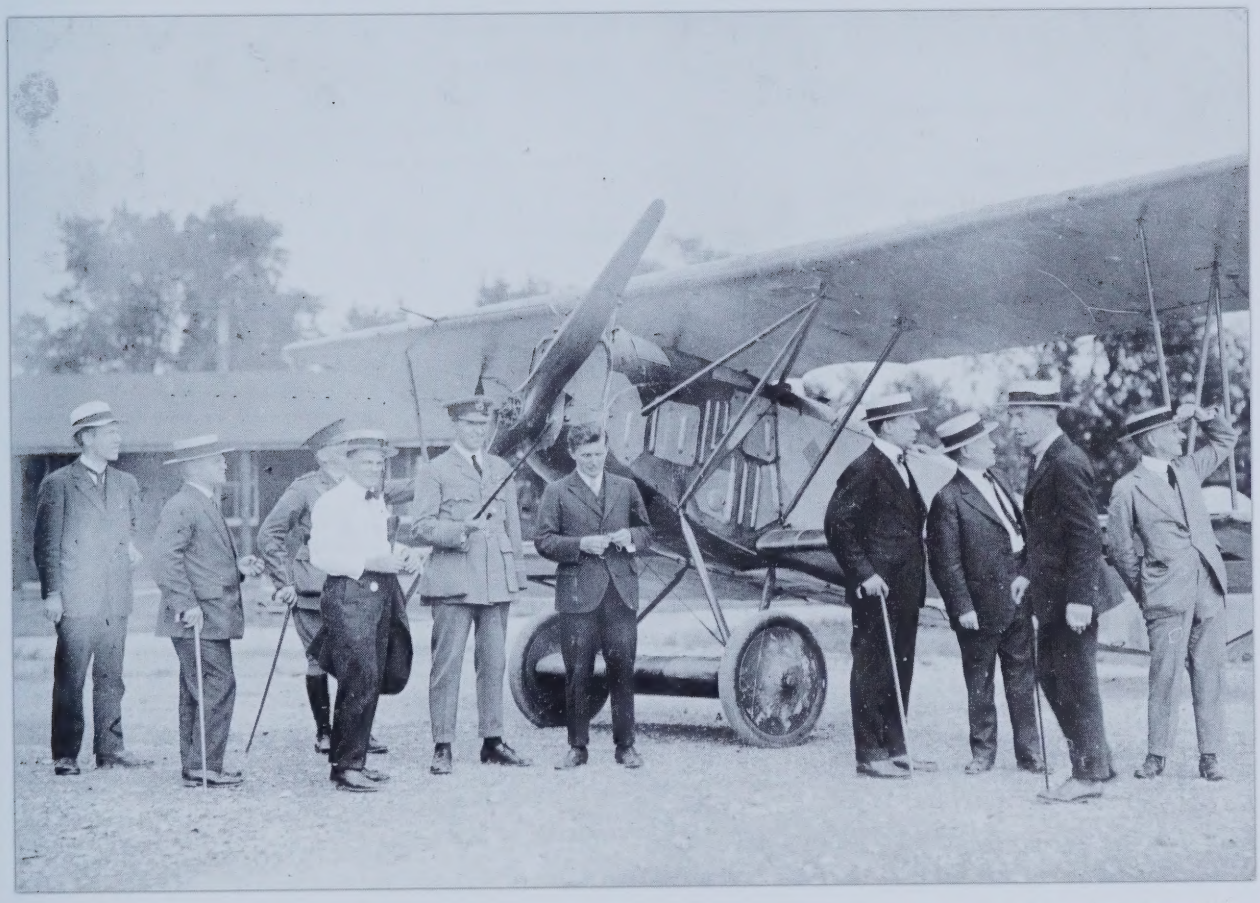
these displays was an increased showing of German aeroplanes.

Despite their ever-worsening condition, the Nieuport 12 and the DWF C.V were the only aircraft available for use in travelling exhibitions during the war. The first shipment of German armistice aircraft departed the Surry Docks in London aboard the SS *Venusia*. At Chingford, Mulcahey's packing crew had been busy crating Fokker D.VIIs in the weeks leading up to the ship's departure. Prior to its arrival in London, the *Venusia* picked up a number of trophy engines and airframes forwarded to Dieppe. These were the aircraft packed by the AEF at Romorantin and gifted to the CAF, including the A.E.G G.IV and Junk. J.1.

The only allied aircraft aboard when the *Venusia* sailed for Canada was the fuselage of Barker's Sopwith Snipe, accompanied by twenty-three German aircraft and engines. All of these machines were destined for the Director of War Trophies although, due to a lack of storage space, he did not have them shipped to Ottawa. After unloading in Montreal, they were forwarded by rail to Toronto where they ended up at several of the ex-RFC-Canada airfields in in the city, in addition to the CNE grounds themselves.

The first batch of German aircraft, along with the fuselage of Barker's Snipe, were shipped to Arthur Doughty on 15 May 1919. Of the twenty-four German trophy aircraft that remained in Canadian custody at Candas, only four Fokkers and an Albatros were ultimately forwarded to Doughty in the Dominion. By 18 June 1919, Mulcahey's crew in Chingford had crated Fokker D.VII 7685/18, which had been held over for the CO. The handling of this Fokker is noteworthy because it was shipped as a single aircraft, as opposed to the larger consignments forwarded to Doughty. As such, after it was unloaded in Montreal, the Director of War Trophies did not forward it to Toronto but received it directly for display in Ottawa.

Following the Armistice, the Imperial Munitions Board wanted to divest itself of the RAF-Canada assets. In January 1919, F.G. Ericson, formerly of Curtis Canada and Canadian Aeroplanes Limited, purchased over 350 of RAF Canada's JN-4 aircraft as the nucleus of his a private business venture, Ericson Aircraft. Given that these very machines had been built under his guidance during the war, he knew



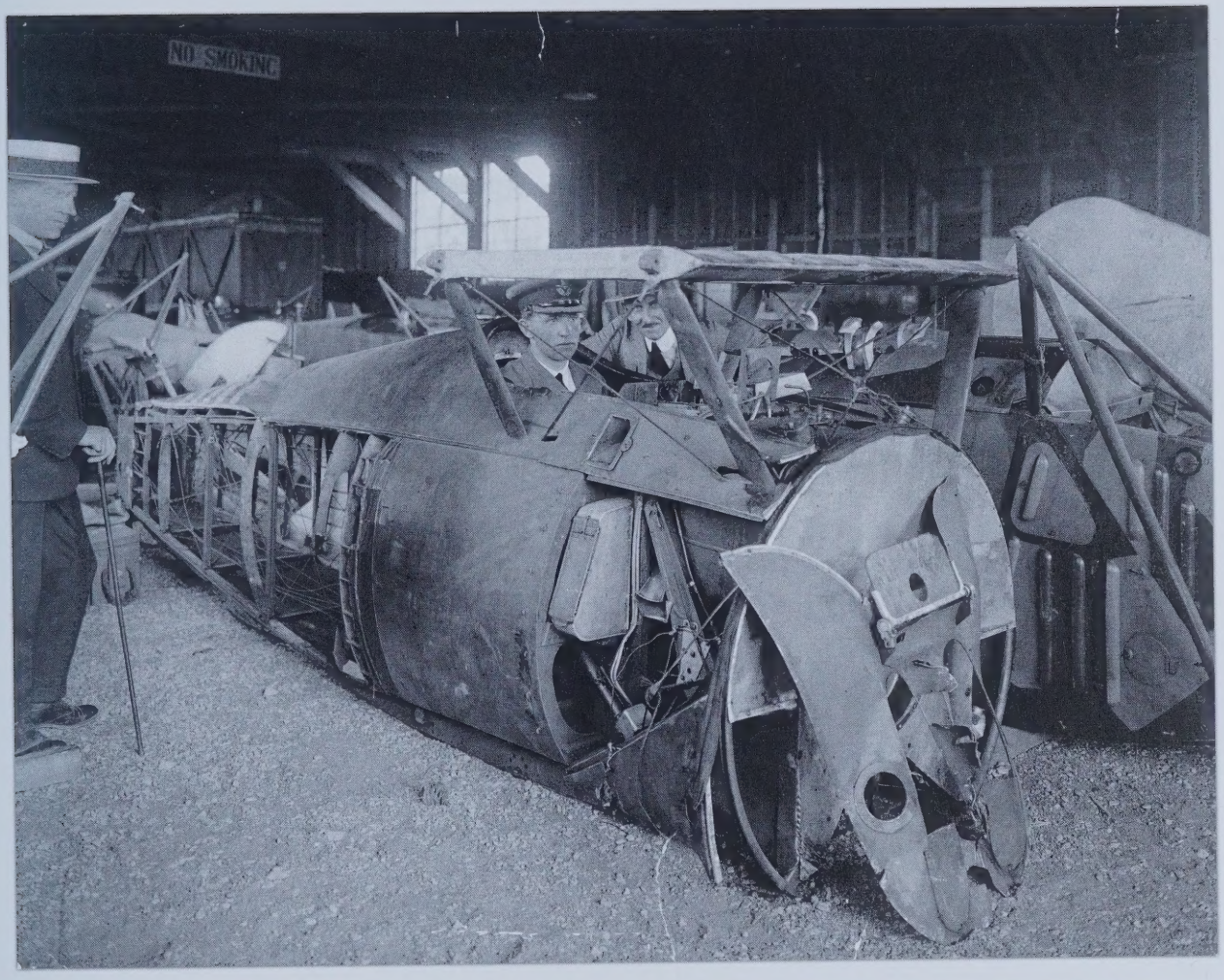
Taken at Leaside Aerodrome during the summer of 1919, this image shows a group of men watching an aerial performance while standing in front of Fokker D.VII 8609/18. On the far right, in the lighter suit, is Arthur Doughty. In front of him, walking towards the left, is F.G. Ericson. Standing on either side of the propeller boss are William Barker (in uniform) and Billy Bishop (in the business suit). (Source – Canada Aviation and Space Museum)

them well. In addition to the significant hoard of "Canuck" aircraft, the deal also included 700 engines, thousands of propellers, in addition to innumerable spare parts and accessories. All of this material was consolidated at Leaside, the use of which Ericson Aircraft had secured for the purpose of re-selling ex-RAF Canada equipment, as well as manufacturing new aircraft. Sales of the surplus JN-4s were brisk, especially amongst returned air force pilots who wanted to keep flying. As a result, two hangars out of the thirty-six structures at Leaside were empty and could be leased to the Archives Department for the storage of German war trophy aircraft upon their arrival in Toronto.

When Lott returned to England that summer, Captain Cyril Horsfield, of the CAF Technical Section, remained in Canada and reported to Doughty on the progress in Toronto. At the end of June, it was still unclear when the full CAF party was arriving to take over the handling of Doughty's trophy aeroplanes. Ericson, ever the entrepreneur, went beyond leasing hangar space to Doughty. Horsfield reported to Doughty that Ericson's men had unloaded the majority of the railway cars at Leaside. Two of the Fokkers were assembled free of charge, but with the understanding that they could give the machines' construction "close study." Horsefield was impressed and recommended that Ericson's organization "be given authority to proceed with the work of erecting other machines, pending the arrival of personnel from England." That summer, Ericson's company was looking for any work it could find and this altruistic move was likely an attempt to encourage further aviation contracts from the government. Additionally, Ericson had his eye on certain items from the trophy collection, particularly engines that could be fitted to his own aircraft designs. Doughty concurred with Horsfield's suggestions and retained the services of Ericson and his men for as long as the war trophies were in his custody. During the unloading of the aircraft at Leaside, Lt Col William Barker also took a distinct interest in the Armistice aircraft, operating in a curious middle ground between civilian businessman and decorated air force officer.

Barker had returned to Canada in May and, like so many aviators from the Great War, longed to continue flying in any way he could. The Fokker D.VIIs at Leaside were the most advanced aircraft in the Dominion – and worlds apart from the JN-4Cs or Avro 504Ks that Barker might otherwise have flown in Canada. This alone could explain his interest in the trophies, especially since his Snipe was also among the aircraft nestled into Ericson's hangars. Barker's connections to the trophy machines, and more importantly to the people who coordinated their acquisition, ran much deeper, however, the roots of which can be traced to the opening months of 1919.

While Barker convalesced in an English hospital, Billy Bishop, the other surviving Canadian air-VC, visited Barker to discuss the future. The two agreed to form Bishop-Barker Aeroplanes Limited (BBAL) upon their arrival in Toronto. BBAL was created so that the two could pursue aviation related opportunities that came their way. During this period, Barker also made the acquaintance of two officers at the OMFC who



Taken inside a hangar at Leaside Aerodrome, this image shows William Barker sitting in the fuselage of Sopwith Snipe E8102 – the very aircraft he was flying when he earned the Victoria Cross. The haunted look on his face may be due to the fact that, the last time he was surrounded by Fokker D.VIIs, he was fighting for his life. Looking through the cabane struts is Arthur Doughty, Director of War Trophies, and on the left of the frame is F.G. Ericson – whose face is blurred due to motion. At least six Fokker D.VIIs can be identified around them, including a variety of other components and crates containing war trophy material. (Source – Library and Archives Canada)

were intimately involved with acquiring and handling German aeroplanes for Canada: Thomas Gibson and Lloyd Lott. In mid-1919, both men were persuaded to purchase shares to support the establishment of BBAL. The Toronto law firm operated by Gibson and his brother arranged for the company's letters patent.

Barker, his Sopwith Snipe, and an assortment of Fokker D.VIIs, were all reunited in Toronto during the summer of 1919. At Leaside, Doughty and Lott were content to let Ericson and Barker handle the trophy aeroplanes in Toronto. The numerous headlines that reported the assembly and operation of the Fokkers were also to Doughty's liking, as they constituted free advertising for war trophy exhibition. Ericson and Barker both positioned themselves in the hopes that they might be able to acquire, or at minimum retain, the use of German aircraft or engines from amongst the Armistice materiel.

On 23 July 1919, Oliver Mowat Biggar (1876-1948) and Doughty travelled from Ottawa to Toronto, where they met with Lt Col Robert Leckie and Lt Col G. C. St P de Dombasle (1880-1929) at Leaside. Biggar told the Air Board that the German flying machines were "being unloaded and unpacked under the direction of Lieut Colonel Barker, VC," who was undoubtedly accompanied by Ericson. In discussing the ultimate disposition of the machines, the Vice-Chairman considered Leckie's advice of particular value. Of his dialogue with Leckie and Dombasle, Biggar recalled that both officers believed the machines had been handed over "on a general understanding that they would not be used except for exhibition purposes." While Biggar did not necessarily agree, he thought it wise to avoid making "enemy-built aeroplanes" too prominent "at the present time." He thus arranged with Doughty to distribute the machines to universities, museums, and other suitable institutions after the CNE.

Subsequent differences about the handling of the German aircraft stemmed from disagreement over the meaning of the ambiguous phrase "exhibition purposes." It appears that Biggar and Leckie interpreted this to mean static display, just as Doughty had done with the DFW C.V and Nieuport 12 during the war. Ericson, Barker and Doughty understood it to include the highly popular aerial exhibitions that were organized throughout southern Ontario in the late summer and fall of 1919.

Almost immediately after the aircraft were unloaded at Leaside, Barker wrote Doughty asking for permission to use a Fokker D.VII in a promotional flight between Toronto and New York City. Doughty had "no objection to offer," but did suggest Barker secure the approval of the Minister of Militia. The next day, Biggar signed off as well, noting that "The Air Board (which includes the Ministry of Militia) has no objections to such use of the German flying machines under the control of Col Doughty as he may deem it advisable to approve." Such an endorsement was at odds with Biggar's earlier position, but Barker proceeded on the basis of this written authorization from both the Director of War Trophies and the Vice-Chairman of the Air Board.

BBAL pilots soon made increasing use of the

Fokkers. As their public profile increased, so too did requests relating to this portion of the trophy collection. The Commission on War Records and Trophies felt that schools, colleges, and universities should have preference for trophies of all sorts, because of their vital role in educating youth. The Air Board also expressed a desire to see German aeroplanes allocated to universities, ideally for use as technical resources by engineering faculties. One of the earliest schools to ask for an aircraft was the Brandon Agricultural College, part of the University of Manitoba. Between senior CAF officers in Canada, Doughty, the Air Board, BBAL, and Ericson, there were a number of conflicting objectives afoot during July 1919. Mid-month, the long-awaited CAF party that was theoretically to handle the German aircraft on Doughty's behalf, finally arrived in Toronto.

William Barker is pictured inside the cockpit of the specially modified Fokker D.VII that he used in the Toronto-New York Air Race of August 1919. His race number was 50 and he is shown here preparing to depart Leaside. Note that "Ericson" is written on the roof of the hangar in the background, a reflection of the fact that, post-war, the airfield became the home of Ericson Aircraft Limited. (Source – Canada Aviation and Space Museum)

The CAF officer grudgingly sent to Canada to supervise Doughty's EA exhibitions was Captain G.O. Johnson (1896-1980), former Flight Commander in No. 1 Squadron CAF. Upon his arrival, Billy Bishop cabled Doughty on 16 July, telling him that the party of men seemed dissatisfied, particularly the officers. As a result, Bishop argued that there was "no need for these officers as Captain Horsfield and we can handle the men in case of any trouble…and present mechanics employed can erect all machines needed. Clearly, BBAL wanted to keep control of the machines in their custody. Barker and Ericson had the distinct advantage of taking possession of the German aircraft immediately upon their arrival in Toronto. Johnson, however, took nearly a month to figure out the lay of the land and then gain a degree of control over the war trophies. In the meantime, word began to spread amongst the memberships of the Canadian and American Aero Clubs regarding Barker's planned Toronto to New York flight.

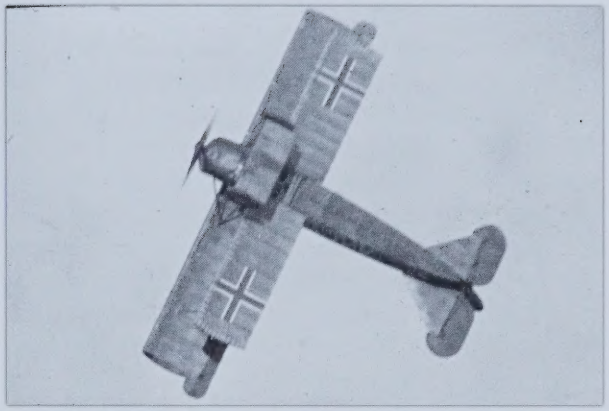
What was supposed to have been a simple promotional event soon evolved into an air race involving close to thirty aircraft, including a second war trophy Fokker D.VII belonging to the United States. William Carpenter Lambert (1894-1982), an American who had served in the RAF, wrote to the Minister of Militia asking to use another Canadian Fokker alongside Barker in the upcoming Air Race. The request ended up on Biggar's desk and he forwarded it to Doughty commenting, "I suppose that the last use to which enemy air-planes ought to be put is to take part in an air race, and that you will advise Captain Lambert that his request cannot be complied with. I hope Barker had no idea of using one of these machines for any such purpose." The Air Board's Vice-Chairman was not mincing words when he indicated his disapproval for flying war trophy aircraft in an international air race.

Biggar appealed to Leckie for details as to what constraints the British had placed on the Canadian use of Armistice aircraft. At Leckie's request, Dombasle wrote to Biggar on 8 August with his recollection of the understanding: "The Imperial Air Ministry while agreeing to our demand commented on the quantity of it, and wished to know the purpose for which these were intended, it being against the policy of the British Government to have these machines flown. An order was actually in force to this effect when I left." These were curious comments, especially considering the considerable amount of flying that was conducted by the CAF on captured machines while Dombasle was the DAS. Furthermore, the RAF itself sanctioned the flying of Fokker D.VIIs in public displays such as the RAF Aerial Tattoo held at north-London's Hendon aerodrome on 3 July 1920.

It seems likely that Leckie and Dombasle adopted this position after the death of Major Albert Desbrisay Carter (1892-1919) while flying one of the war trophy Fokkers in CAF custody overseas. In response to Dombasle's letter, Biggar wrote to Doughty reiterating he was doubtful "whether any flying of this kind ought to be permitted, particularly as … the performance of the machine will, undoubtedly, be checked against the performance of other machines which take part in the proposed

New York – Toronto race." These comments did not deter the Dominion Archivist from authorizing Barker's use of the Fokkers. Biggar had no direct authority over Doughty, who felt publicizing the war trophies was worth whatever flak he might face from Biggar. Rather than discouraging Doughty, quite the opposite happened, and in early August a team of BBAL pilots performed daily displays at the CNE. From a promotional standpoint, utilizing the Armistice Aircraft to publicize the trophy collection was ingenious. Indeed, the CNE represented the pinnacle of Canadian War Trophy collection's media attention.

Ericson's men were authorized by Doughty to assemble six Fokker D.VIIs for the use of BBAL pilots. During Barker's early Fokker flying in Toronto, he kept blowing spark plugs in the Mercedes engines and was unable to determine the cause. An RAF veteran by the name of Captain John Victor Dallin (1897-1991) happened to stop by Leaside during this period and Barker asked him if he had any thoughts on the matter. Dallin was serving with No. 54 Squadron RAF when the Armistice was signed, and the British tasked him to fly surrendered Fokkers from Belgium to France for acceptance. He had encountered the same spark plug problem and informed Barker that it was caused by running the engine at high power for prolonged periods of time at low altitude. Barker wasted no time in offering Dallin a job flying with BBAL. It so happened that one of Dallin's squadron mates, Captain Ernest James Salter (1897-1959), was in Toronto at the time and he was also hired to help in the display flying of Doughty's D.VIIs.



This dramatic image shows Captain Ernest James Salter "stunting" in one of the war trophy Fokkers while he was employed by Bishop-Barker Aeroplanes Limited. This particular aircraft, Fok. D.VII 10349/18, was painted with the words "Air Force Album" and the address of "95 King St. E, Toronto". (Source – Canadian War Museum)

The trio of experienced aviators decided that the best way to show off the Fokkers performance was a display of formation aerobatics. Barker made no secret of their intentions, and on 6 August the *Globe* described what spectators could expect to see at the CNE. The "performance will be arranged to be as instructive as possible without causing any danger to the public. Every stunt that can be performed on an airplane will be done," the paper wrote, "but with the greatest regard for safety… In addition to doing some real war flying, a sham fight and an exhibition of formation flying will be given every evening." The marketing value of Barker's comments was indisputable, but they also attracted the attention of Bigger and Leckie.

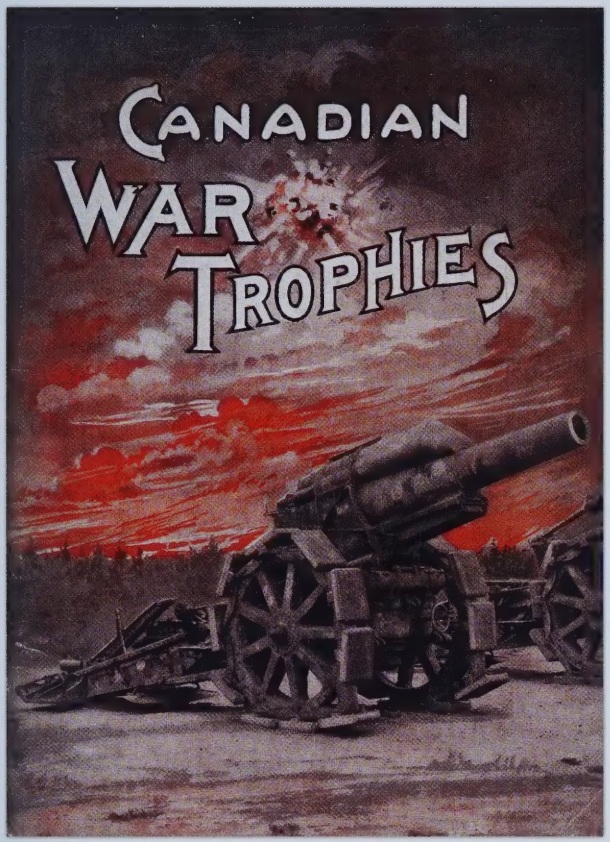
Leckie contacted Biggar to express his distrust of the serviceability of Armistice aircraft. He explained

that after Maj. Carter's death in England, he "had all Fokkers examined." According to Leckie, "[e] very machine showed signs of stress, and one would not have withstood another flight." He concluded that the inter-plane strut fittings were weak and, as a result, he "issued an order forbidding all stunting on Fokkers." Leckie considered flying at the CNE of "no concern of mine," but he warned Biggar that in light of his experience with them, he wanted to put himself "on record now as stating that, in my opinion, the Fokker is unfit for anything but straight flying." It is unknown whether these were Leckie's true feelings, or if he was motivated by some other factor, however the provenance of individual Armistice aircraft allocated to Canada debunks some of his statements. He claimed the Canadian Fokkers were examined, but this was impossible considering the D.VIIs in BBAL's custody were crated in Romorantin and shipped to Canada prior to Major Carter's accident. His prognosis about the airworthiness of the Fokkers did not, therefore, apply to these particular machines.

Leckie may have been in touch with some of the Armistice aircraft from the time they arrived in Shoreham, but as the officer who coordinated the acquisition and shipment of the Armistice aircraft, Lloyd Lott was intimately aware of each aircraft's origins. In the lead-up to the CNE displays, Lott was demobilized in Canada and took up the position of Secretary at BBAL, where he provided Barker with detailed information regarding the trophy aircraft. Doughty was more inclined to listen to Lott and Barker's assessment of the Armistice aircraft's serviceability, as opposed to Biggar and Leckie, especially after Barker's early display flights undermined Leckie's assessment.

Following the successful trophy display in Sherbrooke, Doughty's staff turned its attention towards preparing for the CNE display in Toronto. Most of the trophies were already in the city, but the display hall itself had to be prepared. The Junkers J.1 all metal trench strafing aircraft was transported from Leaside to the Exhibition grounds, where it formed a centerpiece of the static display. Other static aircraft included a British B.E.2c, Fok. D.VII (OAW) 8474/18, and the fuselage of Barker's Snipe. The intent was for Barker, Dallin, and Salter's aerial displays to entertain the public, while also drawing attention to the other trophies in the hall. After watching the daily airshow, spectators could get an up-close view of static German machines alongside a plethora of captured German kit.

For the first weeks after his arrival, Captain Johnson's crew was largely excluded from the activities at Armour Heights and Leaside. Instead, they turned to setting up the static display at the CNE. Interested guests could also visit Armour Heights aerodrome to view additional trophy display that included the A.E.G. G.IV twin engine bomber and several other types of aircraft. At this stage, the Air Board was still trying to consolidate its position and secure a permanent technical advisor. As a result, Barker and Ericson, high profile members of the Aero Club of Canada, maintained effective control of the German aircraft on the ground in Toronto.



CATALOGUE
of
CANADIAN
WAR TROPHIES

INCLUDING
FIELD GUNS
SURRENDERED AND CAPTURED

PLANES, FLAGS,
UNIFORMS
HELMETS, SWORDS
POSTERS
PROCLAMATIONS
PRINTS, ETC.

NATIONAL EXHIBITION
TORONTO;
AUGUST 23—SEPTEMBER 6, 1919

Do not fail to see the Canadian War Memorial Paintings in the building opposite.

This is the title page from the war trophy brochure that visitors could purchase at the CNE in 1919. A very similar document was produced for a display at the Hamilton Archives during the first two weeks of Novemeber. The cover of both documents is identical, but their title page and the advertisements differ for the two publications. (Source - Private Collection)

The grand opening of the CNE took place on 25 August 1919. Upwards of fifteen thousand people attended the CNE on an average day during the 'Victory Year' celebrations. Edward, the Prince of Wales, (1894-1972) was the guest of honour and watched a special display by Barker in a D.VII bearing the race number '50', before he departed en route to New York. Barker and the Prince of Wales had a long-standing relationship that began on 16 September 1918 when Barker was Commanding Officer of 139 Squadron RAF, stationed on the Italian Front. As the heir to the British throne, the

Prince was generally well protected from risks, but on this occasion he insisted on the opportunity to go for a flight. Barker not only took the Prince flying in Bristol F.2B D8063, but he headed for the Austro-Hungarian lines. Edward thoroughly appreciated that Barker was willing to give him a less sheltered experience of the war, and this established a bond between the two men.

Immediately after Barker's return, on 27 August, Johnson began preparing for the distribution of the Armistice aircraft. He drafted a form letter that was sent to the President of a number of universities offering them a Fokker D.VII for either educational or exhibition purposes. From this point onwards, Barker and Johnson were at odds regarding the handling of the aircraft and each man attempted to persuade Doughty that they should have custody of the machines.

Once again, possession proved to be the ace in Barker's hand. Johnson believed that the six Fokkers were loaned to BBAL only for use during the CNE, which ended on 6 September 1919. Barker on the other hand, saw an the opportunity to continue flying the aircraft and wanted to put on similar aerial displays at regional fairs across Ontario, in conjunction with small displays of Doughty's trophies on the ground. In the wake of the CNE's success, Doughty preferred this approach, even though the Air Board, Leckie, and Johnson were not impressed. A week after the CNE closed, Barker displayed a Fokker at the Ottawa fair, making an appearance in Arnprior shortly thereafter. Timing worked in BBAL's favour as the Peterborough and Lindsay Fairs took place the following week, allowing the D.VII to be flown at each event on its way back to Toronto. Salter flew the Fokker in Peterborough on 17 September, and Dallin flew one to Kingston the following week. While BBAL pilots were using Fokker D.VIIs for exhibition flights across southern Ontario, and were selling rides in JN-4 'Canucks' for $10 per head, Barker and Johnson increased the intensity of their appeals to Doughty for permission to store the Armistice aircraft.

This candid shot shows three of the BBAL Fokkers on the ground at either Leaside or Armour heights, most likely waiting to take off for a display of 3-ship aerobatics and a "sham fight" in front of visitors to the 1919 CNE. (Source – Canada Aviation and Space Museum)

Both the hangars at Leaside and the assistance of Ericson's men had been invaluable during the summer of 1919, but the Archives Department was being charged top dollar for these services. Following the CNE displays, Barker leased the six hangars at Armour Heights both for BBAL's own aircraft and for the storage of the six Fokkers already in his possession. Doughty and Barker agreed to an arrangement whereby the remainder of

the trophy aeroplanes would be stored by BBAL at Armour Heights for $100 per month over the fall and winter of 1919-1920. Johnson was only notified that Doughty wished the aircraft placed in storage, but not of the arrangement with Barker. On his own initiative, Johnson arranged with the Manager of the CNE that the Archives Department could store airplanes in the War Trophies Building, free of charge, rather than continuing to pay Ericson for the use of Leaside.

With this plan in mind, Johnson asserted increasing control of the aircraft not already in BBAL's custody, prompting Barker to ask Doughty to "instruct Captain Johnson to hand over all aeroplanes and equipment at Leaside" for storage at Armour Heights. In Toronto, communications resembled a game of broken telephone between Johnson, Lanctot, and Barker. Johnson voiced his concerns regarding the option of BBAL storage to Doughty on 23 September, arguing against keeping Armistice aeroplanes "in a private aerodrome, especially … when it is the obvious purpose of Col. Baker to fly the machines while in his charge." The CAF captain was frustrated that he was supposedly in charge of these German machines, but Doughty and Barker were literally running their own shows across the province – without his involvement.

Barker was fully aware of Johnson's campaign against him. To prevent Doughty from being swayed, he amended the Armour Heights storage offer. BBAL now agreed to store the aircraft free of charge and, if supplied with sufficient spares, could deliver the aircraft by air to any location the Archives Department required. Johnson was unhappy with this option and, in addition to his earlier reservations, he was also concerned with the security of Ericson's Leaside facility. "I have heard various rumours that individuals would like to acquire some of the engines belonging to our aeroplanes," he explained, "so I would recommend that they be stored away from private interests where we can keep them under close surveillance." In Johnson's mind, storage at the CNE would keep the collection away from Barker and Ericson and next to a railway siding, no less.

Other than the six Fokkers assembled for BBAL, the remaining machines were destined to travel by rail, either for storage elsewhere, for delivery to the National War Memorial Museum in Ottawa, or for distribution to Universities across the country. Johnson was intent that the flying of Armistice aircraft in Canada be ceased, in keeping with Leckie's implicit orders. Considering Johnson chaired the investigation into Carter's crash in May, he was well aware of his former Commanding Officer's opinion regarding their airworthiness. Doughty and Barker were unconvinced, and this produced considerable animosity on the part of Johnson.

As the fair season wound down, demand for flights of German aeroplanes did not entirely end. Organizers of the Victory Loan fund raising campaign in Toronto wanted to capitalize on the promotional value of Barker flying 'captured' Fokkers. Due to increased pressure to halt continued flying of Armistice aircraft, Doughty notified Brigadier General John Alexander Gunn (1873-1966), Chairman of the Toronto Victory Loan Publicity

Committee, that "in the absence of the Chairman of the Air Board, I cannot give permission for the use of the Fokker Machines, in the manner that you suggest. There is a report on fyle [sic] against the use of these machines consequently this is a matter for the Board to decide." Rather than deciding between Barker and Johnson's proposals for storage, Doughty

Taken by Canadian Aeroplanes Limited photographers, this float features a Curtis JN-4 "Canuck" that has been adorned with advertisements to sell Victory Bonds. (Source - Private Collection)

further decided that aircraft would be sent to Camp Borden and placed in hangars there.

The Aero Club of Canada argued against this course because visiting and local airmen had taken "great interest" in the German machines. Following Doughty's reply, organizers of Toronto's Victory Loan promptly wrote Biggar to request permission to fly a Fokker D.VII. Biggar adhered to the agreement with Doughty from July, telling Gunn that the trophies were " not under the Air Board's jurisdiction." As neither Doughty nor Biggar were keen to pass judgment on the request, the issue was decided by the Minister of Militia, who sanctioned the proposal provided that the Dominion Committee of the Victory Loan assumed "all responsibility in connection with the matter." The Military Secretary added that he had discussed the matter with Biggar, who had no "objection to the suggested course of action."

The displays around Toronto went ahead, including a flying exhibition on the first anniversary of the Armistice, even though decision makers were aware of the potential risks. On 12 November, two pilots who 'bombed' Hamilton with fundraising leaflets from a 'Canuck' in support of the Victory Loan were killed in a crash. If Barker were killed in a Fokker crash, the fallout would be unimaginable for all involved.

In the opening weeks of November, the Hamilton Armouries hosted the largest exhibition of captured materiel that Doughty assembled during his tenure as Director of War Trophies. Two small pieces of ordinance had caused minor explosions at trophy displays in Parry Sound and Winnipeg, but this did not deter the Archives Department. Photographs of the exhibition at Hamilton are a testament to the variety of material on display from Doughty's trophy collection.

Hamilton's armoury was of comparable size to the proposed hall of trophies the Commission on War Records and Trophies hoped to build in Ottawa. It thus gives a sense of the kind of permanent display that Doughty may have executed there. In addition

On the one-year anniversary of the Armistice of 11 November, the Hamilton Armouries hosted the largest display of Canadian war trophies ever assembled. It dwarfed even the display at the CNE from several months prior. As before, aircraft were featured prominently. In the foreground there is a Fokker D.VII on the left and the Junkers J.1 on the right. In the far distance is the AEG. G.IV bombing machine and, along the right hand wall, the fuselage of Barker's Snipe is visible. (Source – Canadian War Museum)

to the Junkers and a Fokker D.VII, the A.E.G. was exhibited alongside Barker's Snipe. As in Toronto, Barker flew a Fokker to Hamilton in order to bolster attendance. In October, he had been elected president of the Aero Club of Canada and, while he was in Hamilton with a trophy machine, he took the opportunity to advocate the value of aeroplanes generally. On 8 November 1919, Barker spoke to the Women's Canadian Club about the many possibilities that aviation offered the Dominion.

By the closing months of 1919, the arrival of winter curtailed further Fokker flying by Barker from Armour Heights, bringing additional pressure to bear on Doughty to hand Armistice aircraft over to the Air Board. In October, Biggar was content with the agreement reached in July whereby the Archives would distribute the aeroplanes after the display season ended. The recently appointed Superintendent of Flying Operations at the Air Board was none other than Lt Col Leckie, and his newfound authority helped him impose his wishes regarding the fate of German war trophy aircraft in Canada. Yet, despite Leckie's new position, he could not immediately eradicate the 'hun busses'. Doughty and the Commission on War Records and Trophies still hoped to create a National War Memorial Museum in Ottawa and a handful of the most interesting aircraft were destined for display in that facility. At the same time, Barker retained a number of assembled Fokkers at Armour Heights, and was in no particular hurry to deliver them to Johnson.

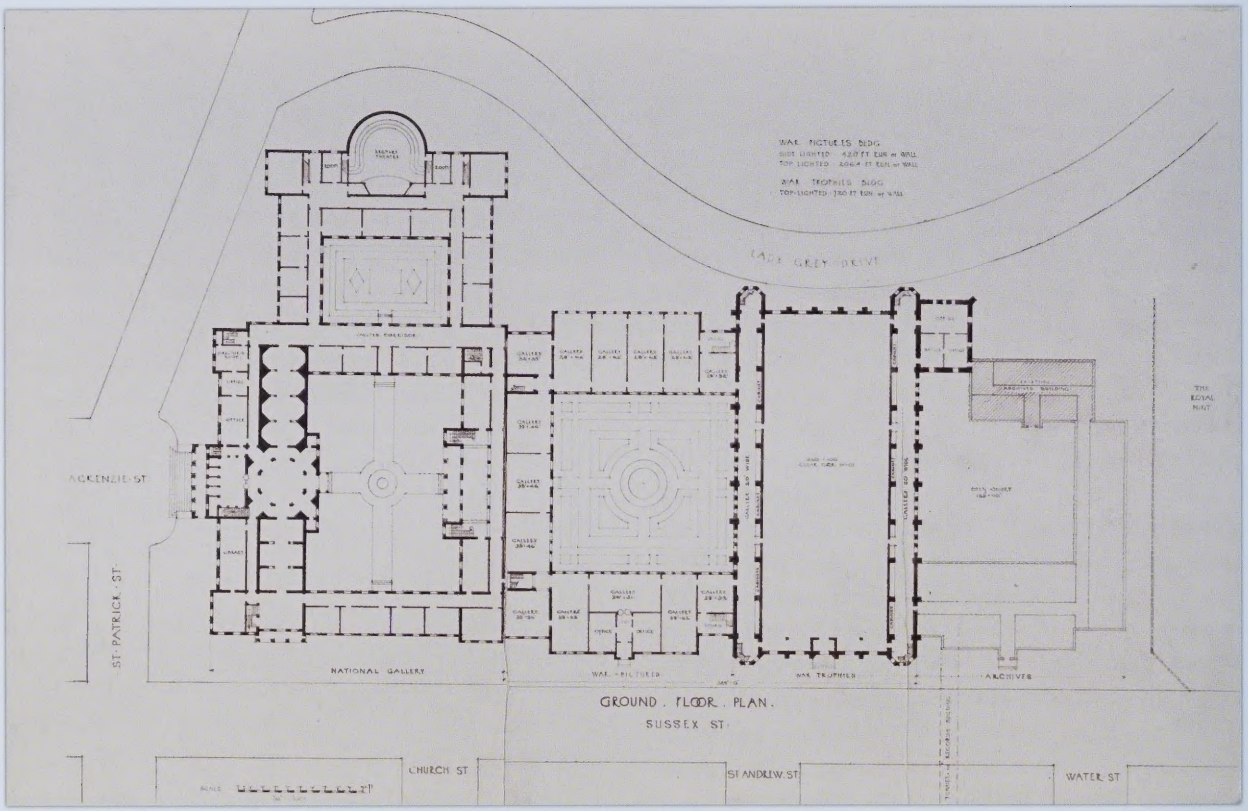
Aeroplanes were central to the travelling displays both during and after the war. By the time distribution of German aircraft began in early 1920, they had passed from the Dominion Archivist's custody into that of the fledgling Canadian Air Board, a body of Government officials from departments that were expected to have an interest in aircraft. Whereas Doughty himself oversaw the distribution of guns and other trophies, the same cannot be said for aircraft. The Archives Department and the proposed National War Memorial Museum essentially became but one of the many recipients of distributed aircraft as the Air Board tried to dispose of unwanted war trophies and, allegedly unsafe, German aircraft.

THE FATE OF WAR TROPHIES IN CANADA

If the Commission on War Records and Trophies had its way, the spoils of war would have been permanently grouped with both the conflict's documentary record and the war art produced under the CWMF. Such a facility housing this multifaceted collection in the nation's capital would be of practical benefit to the historian. At the same time, it could serve as a National War Memorial Museum, showcasing Canada's wartime achievements and sacrifices. The Commission also agreed to distribute much of the voluminous collection of artillery, machine guns, rifles, and assorted German detritus across the country. It thus devoted considerable effort to concocting a fair scheme for allocating trophies to communities, while Doughty insisted on retaining a significant core of artefacts for permanent display in Ottawa.

During the closing months of 1919 and much of 1920, the Dominion Archivist was largely occupied with parceling out the collection he had exhibited over the previous years. At the same time, the Air Board proceeded with distribution of the German aircraft. Prior to Leckie's formal appointment to the Air Board, the Minister of Militia and Defence requested that Doughty and Biggar coordinate the transportation of the trophy aeroplanes from Leaside to Camp Borden. By November, Johnson was effectively in control of the war trophy aircraft in Toronto, aside from the machines still held by BBAL. One of the more interesting tasks ahead of him was closing out the Archives Department's account with Ericson Aircraft.

On 13 November, Johnson travelled to Ottawa to discuss the $4000 in charges levied by Ericson against the Archives Department and BBAL in connection with the handling of German aeroplanes. Considering Doughty was working with an appropriation of just over $14,000, he would have been hard pressed to meet Ericson's demands outright. Ericson knew this, and he proposed another option to better fit the Department's limited budget. A number of crated Mercedes D.IIIa, D.IIIaü, and BMW aero engines were among the German materiel stored in the Leaside hangars. He



A floorplan of the original home of the Public Archives of Canada and the proposed National War Memorial Museum that was prepared by Frank Darling on behalf of the Commission on War Records and Trophies. It combined an expanded archive building with a hall of trophies, a gallery for the CWMF art and a tunnel under Sussex Drive (then street) to the records relating to soldiers pensions. The National Gallery was ultimately built on this site. (Source – Library and Archives Canada)

proposed to accept several of these in trade for the services he had provided, rather than payment in cash. Doughty found this proposal agreeable and instructed Johnson to proceed; a decision that likely perturbed the Captain based on his earlier concerns regarding Ericson and Barker's ambitions to acquire items from the trophy collection. Whether planned or not, Ericson acquired exactly the German materiel he had hoped for, with the complete agreement of the Director of War Trophies no less.

In mid-November 1919, Leckie was tying up loose ends in England before returning to Canada to take up his position with the Air Board. Biggar notified him that Capt. Johnson's party had completed unloading the German trophies at Camp Borden and that he could "arrange for their temporary employment as civilians under the Air Board to unload machines from England." Leckie suggested that Biggar instruct Johnson "to dispose of German machines and provide accommodation" for the twelve CAF's DH9s then en route to Canada. To accomplish this, Johnson secured trucks from Military District 2 officials in Toronto. Trailers were also required to move fuselages and wings, but when the Director of Supplies and Transport indicated that they were unavailable, he suggested leasing one from Ericson at Leaside. Horsfield reiterated the difficulties when he informed Doughty, "I beg to report that the motor transport situation in Toronto is practically hopeless."

In addition to leasing Johnson a trailer to transport war trophy aeroplanes, the Air Board contracted Ericson Aircraft to perform work on the Imperial Gift aircraft then arriving from England. After the CAF was demobilized, there was effectively no Air Force in Canada to perform such work, despite thousands of Canadians having served in the RAF. Spare parts for the JN-4 aircraft that Ericson had purchased from the IMB were sold back to the Air Board in preparations for future flying operations. While these events were underway, universities from across the country were responding to the offer of Fokker D.VII's for exhibition and educational purposes.

During the summer of 1919, the Air Board relied on Dombasle and Leckie to stress its preference for static over flying displays. Although predicated on suspect reasoning, Biggar stood by the interpretation that war trophy aircraft were intended for static exhibition or ground instruction purposes. If the Armistice aircraft were considered technical resources, as Lott originally intended, Universities and technical school across the country were a logical resting place for the trophy aeroplanes. Captain Johnson asserted increasing control of the aircraft with the support of Leckie and he was responsible for distribution, even though it was carried out in Doughty's name as the Director of War Trophies. As of 6 November, the Universities of Toronto, Alberta, McGill, Queens, and Mount Allison were each offered Fokker D.VIIs. Within days, McGill acknowledged the offer and it appears one machine was shipped to them in the spring of 1920. Curiously, McGill's records discuss the receipt of several trophies from Doughty, but make no mention of the aircraft. The Universities of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Mount Allison, and Acadia, all accepted as well.

48 Windermere Ave.,
Toronto, November 7th. 1919.

Lt. Col. A.G.Doughty, C.M.G.,
Director of War Trophies,
Public Archives,
Ottawa.

OFFICE OF THE ARCHIVIST
NOV 10 1919

Dear Sir,

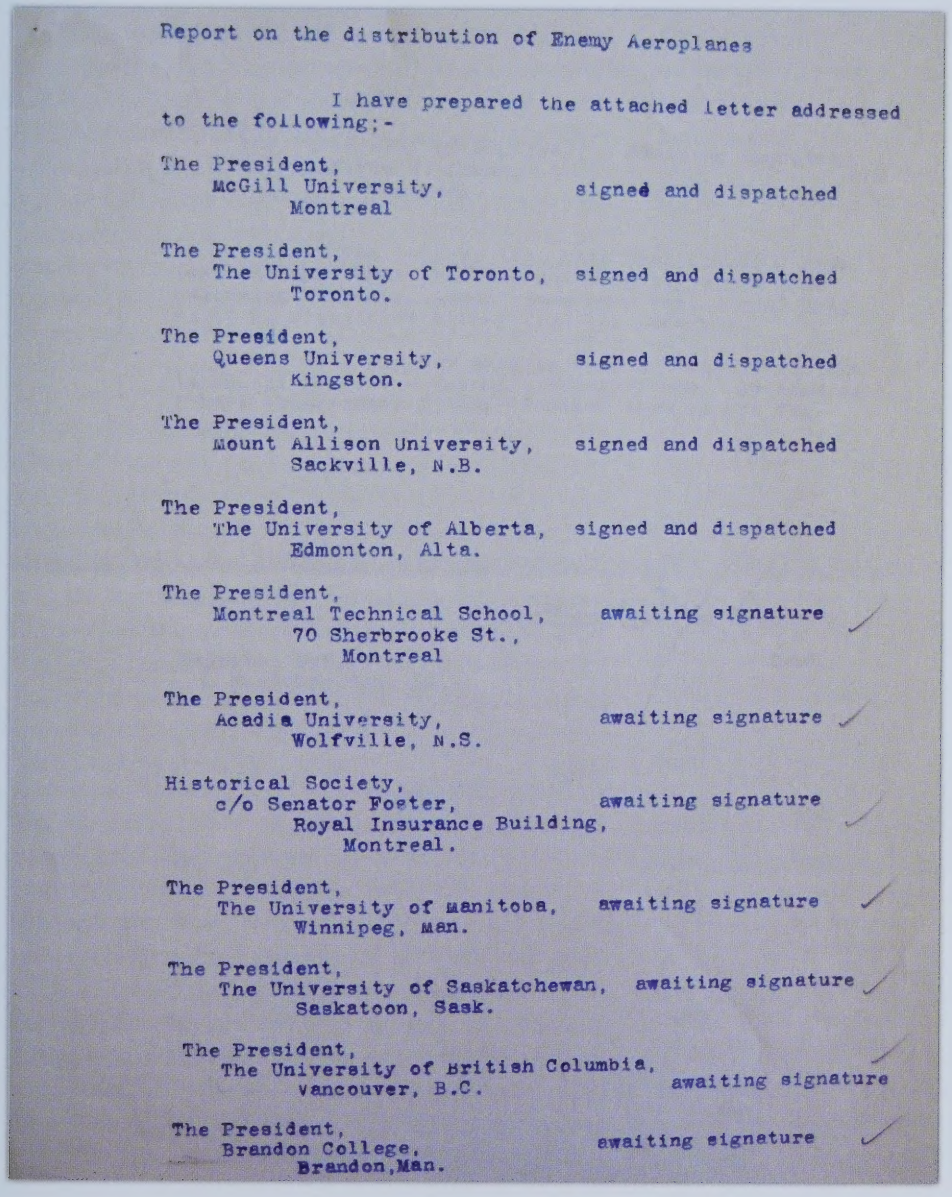
I beg to acknowledge your letters of Oct. 31st. and Nov. 6th. with enclosed letters of application for aeroplanes which I have attended to.

I am enclosing herewith my report on the distribution of the aeroplanes to date and eight presentation letters for your approval and signature.

Yours obediently,

A.D. Johnson

Capt.



Report on the distribution of Enemy Aeroplanes

I have prepared the attached letter addressed to the following:-

The President,
McGill University, signed and dispatched
Montreal

The President,
The University of Toronto, signed and dispatched
Toronto.

The President,
Queens University, signed and dispatched
Kingston.

The President,
Mount Allison University, signed and dispatched
Sackville, N.B.

The President,
The University of Alberta, signed and dispatched
Edmonton, Alta.

The President,
Montreal Technical School, awaiting signature
70 Sherbrooke St.,
Montreal

The President,
Acadia University, awaiting signature
Wolfville, N.S.

Historical Society,
c/o Senator Foster, awaiting signature
Royal Insurance Building,
Montreal.

The President,
The University of Manitoba, awaiting signature
Winnipeg, Man.

The President,
The University of Saskatchewan, awaiting signature
Saskatoon, Sask.

The President,
The University of British Columbia,
Vancouver, B.C. awaiting signature

The President,
Brandon College, awaiting signature
Brandon, Man.

Captain G.O. Johnson writes to Arthur Doughty in November 1919 regarding the progress on the distribution of war trophy aeroplanes to Universities and educational institutions across Canada. Both the cover letter and the enclosure are shown. (Source – Library and Archives Canada)

Sir Robert Falconer (1867-1943), President of the University of Toronto, also replied promptly to Doughty. After thanking him for the archivist's kind offer of a "Fokker" Falconer assured Doughty that the Board of Governors would be "very glad to have it" and he promised to bring the letter up at the meeting. It is unclear whether Falconer actually discussed this offer with the Board, but if he did the minutes make no mention of it.

When he wrote to Doughty, Falconer also inquired about captured German ordinance that had supposedly been set-aside for the University by units in the field. In late 1919, the Commission on War Records and Trophies had yet to decide upon a policy of distribution. Doughty thus explained that it was "possible that there may be other things for you, but until we know exactly what we have … it is not desirable to make any distributions." Similar replies were sent to requests from across the Dominion until a method of distribution was finally decided in early 1920. The aeroplanes, however, were handed out more quickly because the Air Board had no desire to manage them after taking them over from Doughty. Under Leckie's directions, Johnson was also keen to distribute the trophies (or see them otherwise disposed of), to prevent further flying of Armistice aircraft in Canada.

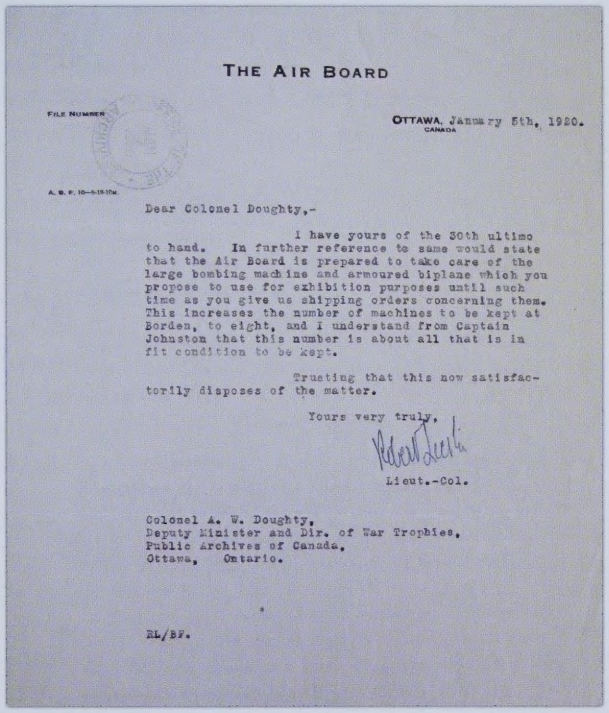
After this first wave of offers went out, Johnson prepared a second batch of letters that were sent to the Montreal Technical School, Brandon College, the Universities of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, Montreal and Acadia. In addition, a lone museum was also offered a German machine – the Brome County Historical Society (BCHS). This arrangement resulted from direct discussions between Senator George Foster (1860-1931) and Arthur Doughty in Ottawa. A letter from Johnson to Doughty in early December 1919 summarized the state of affairs, stating that Johnson had "received replies from nine of the Universities." Four institutions accepted the offer. Four more were expected to accept it, on conditional approval from the Board of Governors, and one refused due to lack of space. In Johnson's estimation, it was "impossible" to deliver the machines before the New Year and he asked whether the aircraft should be turned over to the Air Board to arrange their dispersal. Johnson further informed Doughty that, owing to a lack of railway cars "removal of the aeroplanes to Camp Borden" was considerably delayed. Nevertheless, he hoped "to have the move completed" by 15 December. From the time these aeroplanes arrived in Canada, until they were finally handed over to the Air Board, they were at the center of a power struggle between several pioneers of Canadian aviation.

In early December 1919, the Archives Department agreed to provide Ericson with Mercedes engines in lieu of payment for his services. Added costs increased Ericson's remuneration to four serviceable D.IIIa engines, plus a fifth that was badly damaged in a crash. Ericson billed Doughty's department for most of the work on war trophy aeroplanes, and the engines only covered these charges. Johnson ensured that outstanding fees incurred for the construction of a long-range fuel tank for the Fokker D.VII emblazoned with "50," and the maintenance of the BBAL Fokkers after the CNE, were charged to

Barker personally. In the continuing feud between the two men, Johnson complained that Barker did not return the Fokkers flown during November in support of the Victory Loan campaign. These were still in the hangars at Armour Heights and Johnson wanted them flown to Borden for storage along with the rest of the Armistice aeroplanes. At the earliest opportunity, Johnson appealed to higher authority and asked Leckie to contract Doughty about the trophy aeroplanes.

One of Leckie's first actions as the Air Board's Director of Flying Operations was to write Doughty. On 23 December 1919, he outlined a plan whereby the Air Board assumed "possession, care and maintenance of German aeroplanes," the storage of aircraft gifted to the BCHS and Canadian universities, and an agreement that "all other aeroplanes shall be disposed of at the discretion of the Air Board." Leckie asked Doughty to have BBAL deliver the remaining aircraft in its control to Borden and that any expenses incurred were to be "borne by the War Trophies Department."

Doughty took issue with Leckie's call for the Air Board to dispose of unallocated aircraft, primarily because it did not account for the preservation of German aeroplanes earmarked for eventual display in a national war museum. Based on Leckie's distrust of German machines, it was not a stretch for Doughty to predict what awaited aircraft not selected for distribution. The Dominion Archivist stipulated that in order for him to agree to the transfer, the Air Board must retain the A.E.G. bomber and Junkers armoured biplane, along with the six Fokkers then awaiting distribution. Leckie agreed, adding comment that according to Captain Johnson, these eight machines are "about all that is in fit condition to be kept."



THE AIR BOARD

FILE NUMBER

OTTAWA, January 5th, 1920.
CANADA

A. B. F. 10—5-19-10m.

Dear Colonel Doughty,-

I have yours of the 30th ultimo to hand. In further reference to same would state that the Air Board is prepared to take care of the large bombing machine and armoured biplane which you propose to use for exhibition purposes until such time as you give us shipping orders concerning them. This increases the number of machines to be kept at Borden, to eight, and I understand from Captain Johnston that this number is about all that is in fit condition to be kept.

Trusting that this now satisfactorily disposes of the matter.

Yours very truly,

Robert Leckie

Lieut.-Col.

Colonel A. W. Doughty,
Deputy Minister and Dir. of War Trophies,
Public Archives of Canada,
Ottawa, Ontario.

RL/BF.

Lt Col Robert Leckie writes to Arthur Doughty, in January 1920, in response to the Dominion Archivist's demands that the AEG G.IV and the Junkers J.1, the aircraft he rightly perceived as among the most interesting in the collection, be preserved for ultimate inclusion in the Canadian War Museum. (Source – Library and Archives Canada)

It is doubtful this was an accurate characterization of the German machines in Borden, and it was certainly not true of the airworthy Fokkers in Barker's custody. Instructions for BBAL to fly their aircraft

to Borden and surrender them to the Air Board were either never communicated to Barker by Doughty, or were simply ignored. Either is probable, but a letter from the company's Secretary/Treasurer, R.E. Lloyd Lott, sent to Doughty in February 1920 suggests the former is likelier. Lott had asked Doughty if any Mercedes or Benz motors were available for purchase in yet another attempt to secure spares in support of ongoing flying operations with Fokker D.VIIs at Armour Heights. Clearly, Doughty did not communicate to BBAL that the war trophy aircraft and engines were no longer in his custody.

Over the next few years the Air Board allotted German engines to a number of organizations, but BBAL was consciously not among them. Even without the requested engines, Barker was in no hurry to deliver the Fokkers to the Air Board, particularly considering Leckie and Johnson's desire to dispose of them. The handling of the trophy aircraft had been a considerable draw on Doughty's time in the latter half of 1919. Once relieved of this burden, he returned to the work of the Commission on War Records and Trophies and running the Public Archives of Canada.

Doughty remained steadfast in his conviction that the highlights of the war trophy collection, including the A.E.G, the Junkers, and the French Nieuport, should ultimately be displayed in a Canadian War Museum. During the opening months of 1919, Sir Edmund Walker had shepherded a comprehensive project of commemoration that was based around a plan by Frank Darling (1850-1923) for a National War Memorial Museum complex. Doughty was at times skeptical that the Commission could bring this plan to fruition and although he supported it, he was not without a back-up plan.

In November, the Dominion Archivist arranged with the Department of Public Works to erect a temporary structure adjacent to the Archives Building to store the war trophies. Support for their eventual display was widespread and, in January 1920, Sir Arthur Currie (1875-1933) wrote to the Minister of Militia and Defence to emphasize the importance of the collection and the need for suitable storage. By late February, all the Canadian trophies had finally reached the Dominion. It was time to seriously discuss the question of distributing the booty.

The final tally of available trophies included 512 guns and howitzers, 304 trench mortars, 2500 machine guns, and five-thousand rifles. Among the most prized trophies were the 512 large artillery pieces and field guns. Fifty-three of these guns were retained in Ottawa for the National Museum. The Victory Loan campaign was given eleven of the large howitzers to offer as prizes to whatever cities raised the most funds from each province. Each of the provincial museums were allocated six large guns, with the exception of Charlottetown and Dawson, which received proportionally smaller allocation, as a result of their populations. Considering these allocations were for the purpose of establishing a National and Provincial museums, the relative scale implied by the allocation of fifty-three guns to Ottawa versus six to Toronto is striking.

The special distribution of other categories followed a similar ratio, so that in addition to fifty-two large guns, Doughty's trophy storage shed included 304 trench mortars, one-hundred machine guns and one-thousand rifles. With these specifics worked out, the Commission members were anxious to submit a final report. It did so in early May, apparently the final task it was inclined to pursue. Not everyone was pleased with the specifics of their distribution. At least one MP called for the establishment of Provincial Committees that would have a better knowledge of the individual communities in question. So armed, they could take the overall allocation for that province and distribute it more appropriately than Doughty and Cruickshank. Regardless of the proposal's merits, all concerned with the trophies wanted distribution to proceed without delay.

The distribution of trophies was particularly important during the spring of 1920 because free storage had only been negotiated until April. At the same time, the Commission appreciated the significance of their task and its final report expanded on Cruickshank's points outlined in April. Regarding the need for proper care and maintenance of distributed trophies, this Commission included a proviso that if a war trophy was neglected or improperly cared for, then its custody would "revert to the Government of the Dominion." Additionally, it trophies could not be "sold or otherwise disposed of" by a municipality or other body.

Doughty ensured that the Commission's final report continued to argue that the war trophies needed to be preserved to "perpetuate the memory of the greatness of the national effort and the glorious deeds of the Canadian troops." As a result, it stressed that there had to be "an appropriate building" erected in Ottawa for a National War Museum and Memorial to house "the best and most interesting specimens of the captured articles, and any of a unique character." In terms of the aerial trophies, the final clause regarding interesting or unique specimens explains Doughty's selection of the A.E.G G.IV and the Junkers J.1 for preservation. The final report also validated the distribution of Fokker D.VIIs to universities:

> It is considered that the applications of universities, colleges, and particularly military colleges or school deserve special attention. They should be given a preference over all other public institutions as they are the centres for the education of youth, and it is important that the lessons of the past should be impressed upon these students.

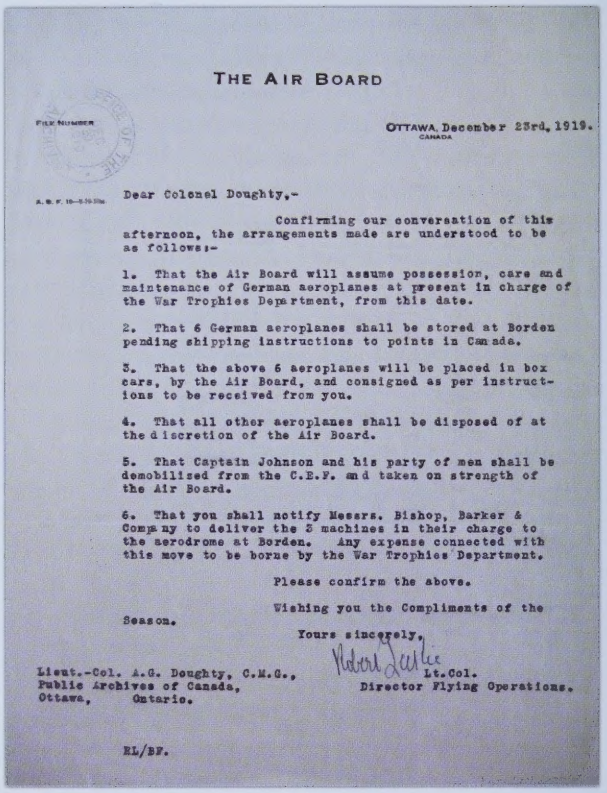
While Doughty, Cruickshank, and Walker finalized the report on the distribution of war trophies, Johnson and his party of ex-CAF men oversaw the distribution of seven Fokkers on behalf of the Canadian Air Board.

As in Toronto during the fall of 1919, necessary transport was difficult to secure. Johnson was also short of men to pack the aeroplanes. This suited Senator Foster, as he had informed Captain Johnson that the BCHS was constructing a new building in Knowlton to house the Fokker, which was not yet complete. Later that month, Doughty inquired as

to whether Johnson had been in touch with St. Francis Xavier University regarding the allocation of a war trophy aeroplane. Johnson replied that he had not, but that when he loaded Fok. D.VII (Alb.) 6810/18 at Borden for shipment to the BCHS on 27 May 1920 it was "the last one here that is in good condition so I think it would be better to send one of those in the possession of Barker as they are in quite good condition." The exchange suggests there was discussion of sending a German aeroplane to Antigonish, but records have yet to confirm this.

According to Leckie's letter of 23 December 1919, once the six Fokkers, the A.E.G., and the Junkers were dispatched from Borden, the remaining German war trophy aeroplanes were in such bad condition that they had to be scrapped. Although records pertaining to distribution are sporadic, the available evidence suggests that the state of these machines was not nearly as clear-cut as Leckie might have liked.

Acadia University was one of the schools offered a Fokker D.VII. According to Ken Molson, they actually received a Pfalz D.XII that was destroyed by fire in late 1920. Mount Allison received a Fokker D.VII in 1920, but it was also lost to fire less than year later. Supposedly, a Roland D.VIb and Rumpler C.V 9928/18, were sent to the Mayor of Winnipeg during the summer of 1920, although no reference survives in the records of the Dominion Archivist. Fok. D.VII (OAW) 8493/18 was displayed between 6 and 8 July 1920 after its arrival at the University of Alberta from Camp Borden. In late 1935, it was removed from the South Lab and transferred to a



THE AIR BOARD

OTTAWA, December 23rd, 1919.
CANADA

Dear Colonel Doughty,-

Confirming our conversation of this afternoon, the arrangements made are understood to be as follows:-

1. That the Air Board will assume possession, care and maintenance of German aeroplanes at present in charge of the War Trophies Department, from this date.

2. That 6 German aeroplanes shall be stored at Borden pending shipping instructions to points in Canada.

3. That the above 6 aeroplanes will be placed in box cars, by the Air Board, and consigned as per instructions to be received from you.

4. That all other aeroplanes shall be disposed of at the discretion of the Air Board.

5. That Captain Johnson and his party of men shall be demobilised from the C.E.F. and taken on strength of the Air Board.

6. That you shall notify Messrs. Bishop, Barker & Company to deliver the 5 machines in their charge to the aerodrome at Borden. Any expense connected with this move to be borne by the War Trophies Department.

Please confirm the above.

Wishing you the Compliments of the Season.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Leckie
Lt.Col.
Director Flying Operations.

Lieut.-Col. A.G. Doughty, C.M.G.,
Public Archives of Canada,
Ottawa, Ontario.

RL/BF.

Written several days before Christmas 1919, Lt Col Robert Leckie records the details of a conversation he had with Arthur Doughty earlier that day, regarding the fate of the war trophy aircraft that had recently been handed over by the Archives Department to the Air Board. (Source – Library and Archives Canada)

vacant agricultural building on the campus, owing to a lack of space. Some time later, the engine from this machine found its way to Australia. It was acquired early in the twenty-first century by the Early Birds Foundation of Lelystad in the Netherlands, who restored the engine to operational condition and have installed it in a flying replica of a Fokker D.VII.

Fok. D.VII (Alb) 6832/18 was photographed at University of Saskatchewan as late as 1923, although its final fate is unknown. Johnson shipped Fok. D.VII 6841/18 to the University of Manitoba in 1920, and the Mercedes from this machine remained in the engineering faculty until the early 1970s. McGill's Fokker remains somewhat of a mystery, although Molson identifies that Fok. D.VII 8583/18 was shipped to them from Borden on 14 May 1920.

Based on Leckie's instructions to Johnson, all remaining German aircraft at Borden should have been promptly written off, but this was not immediately the case. The Toronto Technical School requested the loan of aircraft for instructional purposes and in November 1920 the Air Board determined that "surplus 'Hienie' machines might be given [to] them for this purpose." In July 1921, the Aero Club of Canada requested six German engines, a number of bombs, and German propellers for instructional purposes. Barker made a similar request through the auspices of the Air Board in the fall of 1919, and he still retained several Fokkers at Armour Heights during the summer of 1921. The Air Board was aware of this and noted that before agreeing to lend engines, "a definite syllabus of the instruction it was proposed to undertake should be obtained." A month later, they renewed their request and added the fuselage of a Roland D.VIb to their list of desired material. The Air Board "decided that whatever of this material could be conveniently spared should be given to the Aero Club." At the same meeting, Biggar and the Board agreed to loan a Mercedes and Fiat engine to Queens University for instructional purposes.

The Air Board distributed an undetermined number of aircraft and engines during 1921. Later that year, the Technical and Stores Section at Camp Borden finally received the outstanding Fokker D.VIIs from BBAL. As per the arrangement of 23 December 1919, the War Trophies Department—that is to say Doughty and the Archives—paid for the transportation of these aircraft. In keeping with his long-standing distrust of Fokker D.VIIs, Leckie quickly ensured these machines met an ignominious end. He was supposedly concerned that young aviators might be tempted to fly the German machines. The officer in charge of the Technical and Stores Section at Borden notified Doughty that, as per a conversation with the Air Board's Superintendent of Flying Operations, "the German aeroplanes now at Camp Borden were in such a bad state of repair that it was desirable to reduce these machines to produce, and retain as trophies only such things as engines and machine guns."

With this order, the last Fokker D.VIIs at Borden were unceremoniously discarded. Despite the distribution and destruction of German aeroplanes that took place in 1921, a photograph taken in the Engine Repair Shop at Borden on 25 January 1922 shows the fuselage of Roland D.VIb 7511/18 intact and in good condition. Based on such sporadic evidence, it appears that after the initial distribution of German aeroplanes to Universities and the BCHS in 1920, no clear policy was implemented regarding the handling of German aeroplanes. Leckie's ire was focused on the Fokkers, stemming from Carter's death in May 1919, but his repeated orders to scrap the Armistice aeroplanes in Borden were not limited

to the D.VIIs. Despite such instructions, German machines lingered for an unknown period.

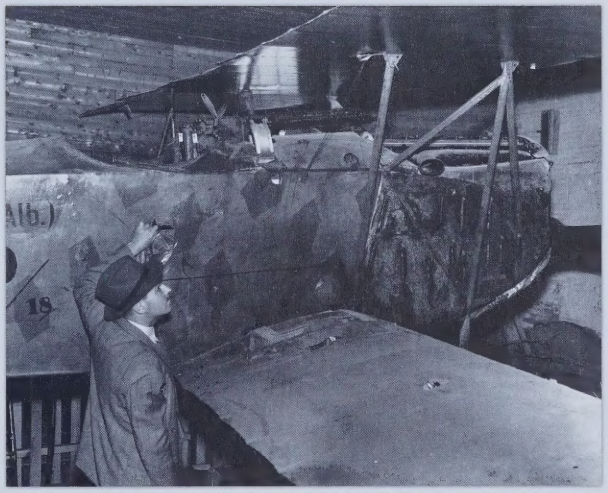
Doughty walked a careful middle ground through the summer and fall of 1919. He ultimately decided it was wiser to cede custody of the aircraft to the Air Board – contrary to the earlier agreement reached with Biggar. With the onset of winter weather, the fall fair season had come to a close and there was little opportunity for Barker to promote the war trophies by flying the Fokkers. Throughout the summer, Robert Leckie was the main opponent to Barker's displays with German aircraft, but he remained in England and was relatively easy for Doughty to ignore. After his appointment to the Air Board, however, Leckie brought additional leverage to bear.

Rather than instigating an inter-departmental quarrel over aircraft that were starting to bring diminishing returns, the Director of War Trophies chose to hand over most of his German aircraft. Yet, the Board did not receive immediate custody of all machines and several were retained by BBAL for over a year. Doughty handed over the German aeroplane collection willingly, on condition that the most interesting machines be shipped to Ottawa for eventual display. When the Air Board took responsibility for the aeroplanes, they began implementing policies of distribution that Johnson and Doughty had initiated in August.

In part, Doughty's choices were driven by a lack of storage and display space in Ottawa. By 1920, it was clear that the proposed memorial museum had failed to secure the Government's support. The trophy Commission remained in existence in name only. In the interim, a shed was erected adjacent to the Archives building to store some of the trophies, but it was nowhere near the size required to house the dozens of airplanes stored in Toronto. In the end, the AEG G.IV was disassembled and stored in the trophy building, until it was removed for restoration in the late 1960s. Similarly the Junkers J.1, the Nieuport 12 and a B.E.2c were held by the Archives Department for most of the interwar period. They were inherited by the Canadian War Museum when the trophy shed was eventually opened to the public in 1942. Eventually, they joined the National Aeronautical Collection (NAC) when it was created in the mid-1960s.

In June 1920, Senator George Foster wrote to Sir Arthur Doughty to thank him for allocating a Fokker D.VII to the BCHS. Knowlton's museum was the only institution other than the universities to receive one of the Fokkers, and Foster "quite appreciate[d]" his debt to the Dominion Archivist. The BCHS's new "Martin Annex," named for the Knowltonite who donated funds for its construction, was complete and 6810/18 was placed inside this building, although it remained disassembled—owing to a lack of qualified personnel to erect it—until shortly before the Annex's official unveiling on 26 August 1921. Fokker 6810/18 remained safely at Knowlton for the next forty-two years, when it departed for two months for thoughtful conservation by the RCAF in 1963.

Over the intervening years, the 'Knowlton Fokker' was largely forgotten. In March 1953, however, Wing Commander (W/C) Fred Hitchins, the RCAF historian who first glimpsed a Fokker D.VII in the 1919 CNE airshow, received a letter from Arnold M. Feast asking for general information about Anthony Fokker and his 1918 fighter. Feast joined the RCAF in 1937 and served as a pilot during the Second World War. He was downed in March 1943 and spent the remainder of the war in prisoner of war camps, including Stalag Luft III. After the war, Flight



Taken in 1953, this image shows the state of Fokker D.VII (Alb.) 6810/18 after being on display at the Brome County Historical Society since 1921. Despite some fabric damage and deterioration of paint on the engine cowlings, the aircraft remained in remarkably good condition. (Source – University of Western Ontario Archives)

Lieutenant Feast remained active within the RCAF Auxiliary and contributed several articles to the air force historical journal, *The Roundel*. While only the opening paragraphs of his Fokker D.VII article, "Achtung – DVII!," specifically address Knowlton's 6810/18, the exchange it sparked with Hitchins brought to light considerable discussion regarding the origins of this aeroplane.

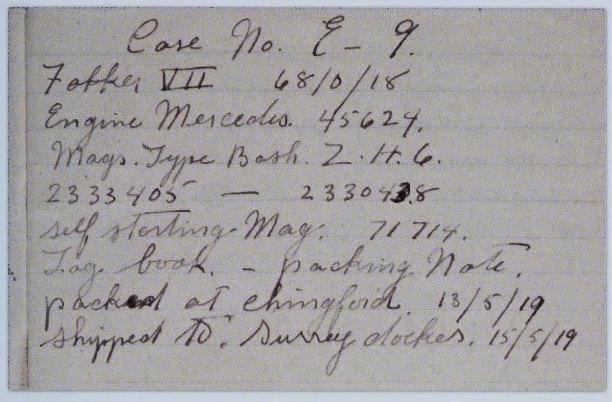
By the 1950s, local lore credited Senator George G. Foster with bringing this aircraft to Knowlton. The published account of the Brome County Historical Society's Annual Meeting of August 1919 simply recounts that the Senator "secured one of the large German aeroplanes captured during the war" and he proposed that it be "dedicated to the boys from Brome County who were members of the Aviation Branch of the British Army, during the Great War." It so happened that one of the eight young airmen eventually named on the tablet was Lieutenant George Buchanan Foster, D.F.C. (Distinguished Flying Cross) (1897-1974), the senator's son. When Arnold Feast inquired about Knowlton's German fighter in 1953, he was informed that it was "apparently shot down by the son of the (then) Senator Foster." According to Feast's sources, the young pilot:

> gleefully came into possession of this machine either before hostilities ended or after. Through, it is suspected, the good political graces of his Dad, Junior was successful in getting the 'plane aboard a Transport and had it spirited back home. He actually flew it in and around Montreal during 1919 and 1920 before handing it over to the Museum.

The tale was mostly hearsay, but it aroused Hitchins' curiosity all the same.

A month later, Fred Hitchins replied to Feast regarding the actual provenance of 6810/18. "I was able to track down our old 6810 as definitely one of the war trophy kites which was sent out to Canada in June 1919," he wrote, "so that disposes of the pretty 'Foster legend' as to its origin." Whether either realized it, their exchange was likely the earliest archival research into the history of the Canadian war trophy aircraft. Based on Hitchins' papers, and his correct identification of the shipping date, it probable that he examined the original manifest for the Canadian Pacific Ocean Services Batsford. A detailed examination of this file indicates that the packing and shipment of German aircraft to Canada were among the major tasks undertaken by the CAF in England. Based on available evidence, it seems that Hitchins' interest was limited to discrediting the so-called "Foster Legend" and he conducted further no research into war trophy aircraft.

The legend of Foster's son as the source of Knowlton's Fokker was entirely fictitious. Yet the Senator himself was actually the prime mover behind the allocation of 6810/18 to the Brome County Historical Society and the BCHS account accurately stated that Foster secured one of the German aeroplanes captured during the war. Within weeks of the Armistice, the Senator wrote to Arthur Doughty, Director of War Trophies, "on behalf of


Case No. E - 9.
Fokker VII 6810/18
Engine Mercedes. 45624.
Mags. Type Bosh. 2. H. 6.
2333405 — 2330438
self starting. Mag: 71717.
Log book. - packing Note.
packed at chingford. 13/5/19
Shipped to. Surrey docks. 15/5/19

The packing note from Sergeant Mulcahey's notebook summarizing the details for Fokker D.VII (Alb) 6810/18. After arriving in Canada, this machine was stored because it was considered to be in "poor" condition. It was ultimately shipped to the Brome County Historical Society and remains on display to this day in the town of Knowlton. (Source - Private Collection)

the Corporation of Knowlton" asking "for souvenirs of the War as we may fairly be entitled to." Both men had considerable status in Ottawa; Doughty as the long-standing Dominion Archivist and Foster as a senior politician who, prior to being appointed to the Senate, served as Acting Prime Minister.

Despite Hitchins' early research, the RCAF Historical Section did not focus on this aircraft again until 1961, when Ralph V. Manning took over the section. The former had taken up a teaching post at the University of Western Ontario (UWO), but the two men kept in regular contact. In a letter to Hitchins during March 1962, Manning informed him that "[m]useum policy has become my responsibility. We hope to get some of our museum aircraft on display soon, even if for only a special occasion such as National Air Force Day at Rockcliffe." As late as 1963, documents from the Defence Council indicate that "[e]ventually it is hoped that nine volumes of official histories can be written which will record the part played in Canadian history by the RCAF. Approval has been given in principle to raising the strength of the Air Historian to 11 so that a start can be made on this endeavour." The planned expansion of the section was not fully accomplished before its assimilation into DHist in 1965. Manning was well aware of the limited resources he could bring to bear on the task of an official history and thus, by 1963, had already placed increasing focus on the museum portion of the Historical Section's mandate.

One of the early steps towards a national Air Force Museum was a temporary summertime display of historic aircraft in Rockcliffe. Ralph Manning attempted a trial of the concept in 1962 at the National Air Force Day celebration. During the planning for the event, W/C Manning proposed that the secretary and curator of the CWM contact the BCHS about loaning their Fokker D.VII. The RCAF held a number of historic artefacts and airframes and he hoped that joint planning between the CWM and the RCAF would ensure the best selection and presentation of Air Force material for a public display. It is likely that Manning also used this opportunity to informally gauge the potential of incorporating this irreplaceable Great War relic into the Air Force museum. He quickly realized that the BCHS was highly protective of its aircraft and that a short loan was the best solution. Even so, a Fokker D.VII would be a unique addition to the Air Force Day display in Rockcliffe. Perhaps most importantly, it would allow for conservation work to be performed on the

aircraft, as it was showing considerable wear from its long journey to Knowlton and forty years on public display. If the Society agreed, the Air Force would cover all costs associated with transporting, repairing, and displaying the aircraft. A special meeting of the BCHS was called in Knowlton on 11 May 1962 to discuss the proposition before them.

This was not the first time an outside organization had approached the museum about removing 6810 from Knowlton. Generally, such inquiries came from the United States, asking if the BCHS was interested in selling the aircraft. As Harry Shufelt (1896-1973), president of the BCHS, explained, "we are very loath to let the plane go out of the museum and have refused requests in the past." According to Arnold Feast, the producers of Howard Hughes' (1905-1976) epic film Hells Angels (1930) offered the BCHS a considerable sum for the aircraft. Such an offer is entirely plausible considering the instructions that the millionaire Hughes gave to one of the pilots and aviation consultants on the film, Frank Tomick (1894-1966). "He told me he needed a bunch of planes, Camels, S.E.5's, D.VII Fokkers. 'Get all you can.'" Ultimately Tomick acquired five authentic Fokker D.VIIs that were flown during the filming. Knowlton had no interest in selling their aircraft to Hughes, particularly since it had been unveiled in the Martin Annex of the BCHS only six years earlier. In contrast, the offer from the RCAF in 1962 was taken under consideration for several reasons, notably because the membership felt 6810 would be well taken care of by the RCAF. After forty-five years with little or no maintenance, the aircraft was showing considerable wear.

A secondary, but no doubt important feature of the loan was a chance for some much-needed publicity. The Society required the Air Force to agree, in writing, to very specific conditions before the Fokker was allowed to leave Knowlton. The aircraft had to be returned and installed in the museum no later than 16 June, so that it would be on display when the BCHS opened for its regular summer display season. While on display in Ottawa, the museum required suitable signage indicating the aircraft was on loan from the BCHS, where it was on permanent exhibition. Finally, there were very particular instructions about the aircraft's fabric covering. Based on information from a member of the Royal Aeronautical Society, the BCHS was (rightly) under the impression that this Fokker D.VII was the only example extant that retained its original fabric covering—linen fabric pre-printed with the German "lozenge" camouflage pattern. They thus instructed the RCAF "that the fabric will not be taken off nor repainted or changed in any way EXCEPT [original emphasis] where it is damaged and has to be restored. Where such restoration is made the fabric put on is to be made to match the original fabric as nearly as possible." If these conditions were met, the Society was willing to agree to the loan and cosmetic restoration of D.VII 6810/18. The desire to preserve 6810's originality as an artefact was a primary consideration for both Manning and the membership of the BCHS.

By the time Shufelt accepted Manning's offer, there was less than a month remaining before the Air Force Day display of 9 June 1962. This timeframe proved impossible to complete the required work, and the project was put on hold. After Air Force

Day had passed, Manning then visited Knowlton to meet with Shufelt and inspect the German fighter in their collection. He reiterated a desire to display the aircraft in Ottawa and proposed the 1963 Air Force Day as a suitable target. With a mutual understanding in place, Manning's focus shifted to coordinating support to successfully carry out the operation. At the top of the list was a potential source of lozenge fabric. When Manning wrote to Shufelt as a follow up to his visit, he enclosed a photograph of a war trophy D.VII in Toronto during 1919. It was the first of many photographs sent to Brome, which served both as a kind addition to the BCHS's archive and to illustrate the distinctly Canadian history of their German aircraft as a trophy of the Great War.

The photograph depicted Victoria Cross winner William George Barker sitting in the Fokker D.VII, which he flew in the Toronto-New York Air Race of late August 1919. Just as the keepers of 6810/18 had forgotten the details of how they originally acquired the machine, they knew little of its history as a Canadian artefact. Manning's photographs alluded to this history and were a subtle reminder of the significance of these Fokkers to air force history in Canada.

By September 1962, Ralph Manning was still trying to secure permission to proceed with the loan of the Fokker. The Air Historian had hoped it would be a relatively simple process. Unfortunately, some unexpected administrative hurdles, including funding for the project, were cause for delay. Manning nonetheless capitalized on this time to send another photo to Knowlton, this time illustrating how captured Fokker D.VIIs were used by the CAF in England. The mounted photograph showed Andrew McKeever (1894-1919), commanding officer of No. 1 Squadron, sitting in a Fokker D.VII emblazoned with the unit's green and white maple leaf. He thus underlined (perhaps unknowingly) the fact that 6810/18 was one of the first aircraft ever flown by Canadians in a distinct Canadian air service and that it was the last surviving machine worthy of the title.

Another CWRO photograph showing four of the war trophy D.VIIs that were regularly flown by airmen in the CAF. Knowlton's 6810/18 is the third from the left, meaning that it is actually the only surviving aircraft that flew with the first, all-Canadian fighter squadron in history. (Source – Library and Archives Canada)

Harry Shufelt was pleased and added these photographs to the BCHS's archive. The June meeting between the two men left the president of the Historical Society with a positive impression. When he wrote back to the wing commander, Shufelt expressed his confidence by asking the Wing Commander to personally oversee 6810's disassembly.

Unconventional requests have an unfortunate tendency of becoming entangled in Ottawa's bureaucratic channels. Due to the unprecedented nature of the arrangement regarding Knowlton's Fokker, it took considerable effort on Manning's part to secure formal authorization. As late as mid-December 1962, he wrote to Shufelt apologizing for the pace at which the project was moving. Early in the New Year, permission to carry on was finally granted and Manning and Shufelt agreed that the best time to remove the aircraft was March or early April, when the ground was still sufficiently frozen to support heavy trucks. Although it had taken over a year of planning, the project could finally proceed. Manning next worked in concert with a host of organizations and departments outside of the RCAF Historical Section to draw up a detailed course of action.

The success of 6810's relocation and conservation depended on resources outside Manning's office. One was a mill in New York that provided a reasonable facsimile of lozenge fabric. The material was based on a run the mill had already produced for re-covering of a Fokker D.VII at the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum (NASM) in Washington. It helped Manning comply with Shufelt's request that only similar fabric be used for the necessary patching. While Manning had begun securing the necessary materials, he still had to secure the expertise and manpower to transport the aircraft to Ottawa and make the required repairs.

As the initial correspondence with the BCHS indicated, the Canadian War Museum was involved in the project from its inception. The CWM collection contained a handful of aircraft from the Great War, many also the result of Arthur Doughty's collection efforts. These included a Nieuport 12, the A.E.G. G.IV twin-engine German bomber, the Junkers J.1, and a Royal Aircraft Factory B.E.2c. Between 1957 and 1958, the CWM called upon the RCAF to restore some of these aircraft. Number 6 Repair Depot (6 RD) in Trenton performed work on the Nieuport, the B.E.2c and on their Sopwith Camel. Ken Molson subsequently criticized these restorations for not living up to modern standards; however, they set a precedent whereby 6 RD was the first unit contacted when the RCAF needed work done on a vintage aeroplane.

Manning's discussions about these earlier projects undoubtedly determined how to best deal with Knowlton's D.VII. Kenneth Molson also sought input from the small, Uplands-based National Aviation Museum, which had only opened in 1960. Another, if unexpected, though in hindsight quite logical, source of information was the National Gallery of Canada. The Fokker project required preserving linen covering stretched over a wood and steel frame, making an art conservator's skills especially useful. One of its gallery staff, Mr. Charles Mervyn Ruggles (1912-2001), thus shared with Manning techniques used in the restoration and preservation of artwork.

During the last week of March 1963, 6 RD dispatched a mobile repair party to disassemble Knowlton's Fokker and transport it to Ottawa. W/C Manning was unable to join them as Harry Shufelt had hoped,

but an experienced Air Force rigger, Flight Sergeant (F/S) Huffman, was placed in charge of the project. Shufelt was suitably impressed and he described how they handled 6810 with "almost loving care." A little over two months remained before the Air Force Day celebrations of 8 June 1963 and a number of challenges remained for Huffman and his team at 6 RD.

When the Fokker arrived at Rockcliffe, it was clear that the required repairs were more than could successfully be completed in Ottawa. The aircraft was moved to Trenton, home of the repair depot's full facilities. Manning, the commanding officer of 6 RD, and the restoration team, all appreciated the value of the Knowlton Fokker's original fabric and their efforts to conserve, rather than recover, the airframe made good use of Mr. Ruggles expertise. Manning and the 6 RD team effectively pioneered an entirely new technique in the field of vintage aircraft restoration. Considering there were only two months in which to carry out the whole project, and the incalculable value of the artefact in their possession, this was a tall order. Through the collaborative efforts of the Air Historian's Office, the BCHS, CWM, NAM, 6 RD, the National Gallery and others, the project was successfully accomplished. Despite his assessment that it was only about a "65% restoration and good for 6-7 years," the Fokker was extremely well received by the visitors to Air Force Day, both in Trenton and Ottawa.

Harry Shufelt and the BCHS were entirely satisfied with the exchange with the RCAF. Shortly after the D.VII was reinstalled in Knowlton Shufelt expressed

Knowlton's 6810/18 is shown at Trenton in June of 1963, after it was conserved and subject to a consciously minimalist restoration by 6 Repair Depot, on behalf of the RCAF Air Historian, Wing Commander Ralph Manning. (Source - Private Collection)

"how pleased" the Historical Society was with the loan and treatment of their Fokker D.VII. Such success was achieved because the arrangement surrounding 6810 was mutually beneficial. The BCHS received significant publicity and professional Air Force riggers and fitters restored their prized German aeroplane. Manning and the RCAF Historical Section were able to incorporate an extremely rare aeroplane into the successful display of vintage aircraft during Air Force Day 1963. From the broader perspective of RCAF Museum policy, the exercise of coordinating the Fokker affair set the tone for future cooperation between the CWM, CAvSM, and the RCAF.

ARTEFACTS, OFFICIAL HISTORIES AND THE AIR HISTORICAL BRANCH

A desire to document and preserve the memory of Canada's participation in the Great War can be traced to the opening stages of the conflict. Trophies and artefacts were part of this documentary urge, although the precise role these pieces of material culture played evolved as the scope and size of Canada's war trophy collection expanded. During the summer of 1919, Canadians could examine practically all of the key German weapons that had shaped four years of war. Light machine guns, field guns, the paraphernalia of gas warfare, a submarine, and dozens of German aeroplanes were displayed in Ontario and Quebec. Most of this material belonged to the people of Canada, many of who clamoured for a share in the booty. These sentiments were communicated to Ottawa in a steady stream of letters calling for the distribution of trophies to cities and towns across the country.

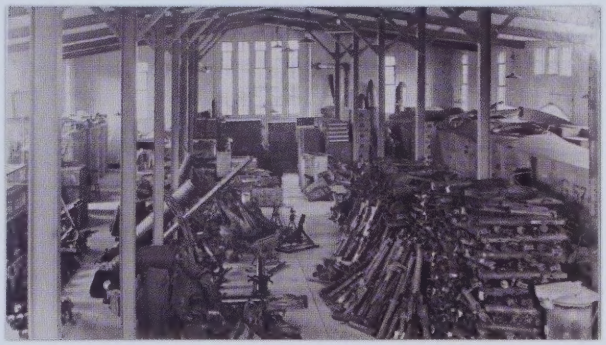
Shortly after the war ended, Sir Arthur Doughty compiled a catalogue of the trophies being stored and earmarked for eventual display in a national museum. This document, likely produced in late 1920 or early 1921, indicates that four airplanes were retained, including a "Long distance Bombing Machine" [A.E.G. G.IV 574/18], an "Armoured trench raider Biplane" [Junk. J.1 586/18], an Aviatik Aeroplane XG.13 [probably the DFW C.V (Av.)], and a "Fokker Fighting Plane" [Fok. D.VII F 7685/18]. During the 1920s, these trophies, and the Commission tasked with distributing them, were essentially forgotten.

Over the next fifteen years, the war trophies continued their long descent into obscurity. With regards to the aircraft, the A.E.G. G.IV, Junkers J.1, Nieuport 12 and Barker's Snipe were inconspicuously preserved inside the trophy shed, their existence known only to a select few. From 1920 until Doughty's retirement in 1935, these artefacts were safely in the Dominion Archivist's custody. Between the wars, interest in, and knowledge of, these aircraft was so minimal that prior to Edward Soye's (b.1984) MA thesis research, even these aircraft's modern custodians at the CWM and CAvM were unclear about how they survived the interwar period.

In the early 1930s, A.F. Duguid proposed discarding the collection Doughty had shepherded since the

war's end. He believed that the surviving material was worth little more than "scrap metal" and, for unknown reason, strongly advocated the reduction, or complete elimination, of the trophy collection. In place of the trophies in their varied and original form, Duguid suggested they could be melted down into bars, or "ingots of convenient size" and stamped "FROM FRAGMENTS OF CANADIAN WAR TROPHIES 1914-1918." The plan estimated that about thirty to forty tons of metal could be re-purposed in the manufacture of statues, busts, medals, panels, plaques, tablets, and plinths to commemorate the war. It was also suggested that disabled veterans might use this material to manufacture utensils, objects d'art, and trinkets. Oddly, Duguid's plan indicated that all costs related to the shipping and melting of this material were to be drawn from the budget of the Archives Department. To avoid this, Doughty continued to earmark a portion of the Archives' budget to preserve the contents of the trophy shed for eventual display.

No immediate action was taken on Duguid's memorandum. The Government did not wish to delegate another task to him, given that he was already overtaxed as Director of the Historical Section. Nonetheless, his recommendations returned questions about the war trophy's fate to the fore. As a result, on 15 April 1935, a new order-in-council (P.C. 1001) established the War Trophies Disposal Board to oversee Duguid's recommendations. In keeping with the Dominion Archivist's long-standing connection with the trophies, Doughty was named as a member of the new War Trophies Disposal Board. Duguid seems to have had little affinity for the trophies and, after the establishment of the Disposal Board, his interest was limited to documents that might be of assistance in the writing of the Official History. As a result, the Government indicated that "the Dominion Archivist [would] be responsible for the administration of the collection until such time as the War Museum may be created or the trophies themselves be absorbed by the National Museum." Finally, on the eve of Doughty's retirement, Ottawa had committed to establishing a Canadian War Museum.



This is the inside of Arthur Doughty's temporary "trophy shed" which was constructed behind the PAC Building in 1920 to store the collection. In 1935, the contents were thinned and the space was ultimately opened to the public in 1942 as the Canadian War Museum. Aside from the 08/15 Machine Guns stacked like cordwood, the fuselage of the AEG G.IV is visible on the RH side of this image. (Source - Private Collection)

With work on the collection underway, the chaff was culled from the trophies building to create sufficient space to prepare the preserved artefacts for public display. Pieces from the old Military Museum were to be displayed alongside the remaining trophies, all of which had been stored by Doughty since their arrival in Canada. After Doughty's retirement in 1935, acting

Dominion Archivist Dr. James F. Kenney (1884-1946) took over as Chairman of the Disposal Board. The board's Secretary was Lt Col W.A. Kruger, and the remaining members were selected to represent each branch of the armed forces. From the army was Lt Col N.O. Carr and from the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) Lt Cdr Roger Edward Shelford Bidwell (1899-1968). Representing the RCAF was Group Captain Ernest W. Steadman (1887-1957), an experienced aeronautical engineer with close ties to the National Research Council (NRC). The Board first met on 6 June 1935 and discovered that the trophy shed was packed to the rafters with trophies, enlarged photographs, and documents. To make space, it ordered a limited culling that took into account the future needs of the CWM.

In September 1936, the Disposal Board requested estimates of the cost required to put all five of the aircraft retained by Doughty into display condition. No. 1 Aircraft Depot in Ottawa was called on to repair the fuselage of Barker's Sopwith Snipe. The Depot also repaired the B.E.2c and prepared an estimate of costs to repair the Nieuport 12. Both the A.E.G. G.IV and the Junkers J.1 remained in the trophy building while this work was conducted. Early in 1936, the Disposal Board concluded that the Trophy Building was too small to properly display the repaired machines. A.G.L. McNaughton (1887-1966), former Chief of the General Staff and now Chairman of the National Research Council, was approached to determine if there was space to temporarily store or display at least two aeroplanes at the NRC. Meanwhile, Steadman made inquiries in England about whether correct engines could be located for display in Barker's Snipe and the B.E.2c. In March of 1936, McNaughton agreed to store two aircraft in the exhibition hall of the NRC's main building

John Hamilton Parkin (1891-1981), Assistant Director of the NRC and long-time member of the Council's Associate Committee on Aeronautical Research, is typically credited with establishing the NRC Aeronautical Museum. Ken Molson traces the lineage of the modern CAvSM to Parkin's small collection, officially recognized by a tablet installed at the NRC in 1937. In mid-1936, he was pleased to accept the B.E.2c and Barker's Snipe for temporary storage, likely in hopes that they would become permanent additions to the Aeronautical Museum. Two months after these machines were sent to the NRC, the Board allocated an additional $200 for repairs to the A.E.G. at No. 1 Depot during 1937. The cost of repairs to the Nieuport also ended up being higher than the original estimate and the Minister of National Defence objected to the Board's additional demands. According to the Aircraft Depot, it was imperative that the A.E.G. be removed by 31 March 1937. This pressing need was sufficient to secure funding and complete the required work. By 23 February, the Nieuport was on display at the NRC and the fuselage of the A.E.G. was returned to the Trophy Building for storage, as work on its fuselage was complete. The unconventional design and construction of the Junkers proved an effective deterrent to further repairs and only its engine received a thorough cleaning.

By the end of 1938, most of the trophy collection

had been catalogued, cleaned and repaired for public display. Gustave Lanctôt (1883-1975), newly appointed Dominion Archivist, recognized that the Trophy Building was "not suited" for the care or display of Canada's Great War trophies. Lanctôt was intimately involved with the collection and display of these artefacts, both during and immediately after the war. He concluded that guarding against deterioration was considered "highly desirable in view of the value of the collection and the time and effort expended on its acquisition." Upgrades to the Trophy Building were made and, when the Canadian War Museum opened in 1942, it occupied this 'temporary' structure that was built for Doughty in 1920. The CWM remained in this facility until 1967, when it moved a short distance into the old Dominion Archives Building, vacated by the PAC after the construction of a new facility at 395 Wellington Street.

The physical record of Canada's participation in the Great War—the war trophy collection—lay largely forgotten for much of the interwar period. Canadians focused their commemoration on cenotaphs at home and the work of the Canadian Battlefield Memorials Commission in Europe. Aside from Duguid's efforts to compile an official history, there were practically no professional historians who took an interest in researching Canada's national contribution to the conflict. A notable exception was Fred Harvey Hitchins, whose interest in Canadian airmen and the First World War dated to the 1919 CNE and continued into the 1970s. Throughout his career, Hitchins compiled a card index file of over 15,000 names listing Canadians who served with the British flying services. Working for the RCAF's Air Historical Section (AHS), he researched and outlined the drafts for Canada's official history of its pilots in the Great War. Hitchins' focus was Canadian airmen, not just the aces, and he broadened the official history's scope, demonstrating how Canada's efforts between 1914 and 1918 were influenced by its pre-1914 aviation heritage. Although he did not live to see the eventual product of his research, which was published in 1980, his work helped ensure the official history's publication by re-framing its focus as part of Canada's larger aviation heritage. It also recognized for the first time the mythology surrounding Canada's air war.

Hitchins was well suited to work on the history of Canada's first air war. Born in London, Ontario on 10 July 1904, he had the unique distinction to be part of the last class of undergraduates from Western University and the first to graduate from the University of Western Ontario. While working on his doctorate in 1928, Hitchins was hired by New York University and he stayed there until March 1941, when he was granted a leave to join the Royal Canadian Air Force.

His lifelong interest in aviation dated to his attendance at the CNE as a teenage boy. He was particularly taken by the aerial displays put on over the fair grounds, so much so, that his efforts focused on the history of those pilots and aircraft for the next fifty years. His quest began as personal research in the 1930s, focusing on questions about Canadian aviation and the First World War. Throughout the decade, he wrote extensively to various governments asking for

information about their wartime pilots. In 1934, he sent inquiries to the German Military Attaché to the United States about German military decorations. He also carried out regular correspondence with various individuals with the Royal Air Force, the Air Ministry, and the Canadian Department of National Defence. In each instance, his focus was Canadian pilots and he attempted "to collect information for writing up the records of Canadians who served in the RAF during the War."

Although he lacked access to official records, Hitchins possessed a greater knowledge on Canada's wartime aerial history than the full time historians on staff in Ottawa. By the mid-1930s, he had collected a library of over 350 works, corresponded with multiple governments to ascertain their archival holdings, and even contacted some pilots directly. He also took copious notes, publishing on the subject as early as 1931. It must, therefore, have come as a shock when he wrote to Ottawa requesting more information and they directed him to the British Official History, *The War in the Air*, George Drew's *Canada's Fighting Airmen*, and Billy Bishop's *Winged Warfare* as a means to study the "particulars" of the air war and the work of Canadian airmen. F.H. Hitchen's greatest contribution was to help broaden the scope of this lack-luster interest in early Canadian aviation.

Before long, Hitchins expanded his research beyond the events of 1914-1918, to include the pre-war and postwar periods. Like many, he was first interested in the aces, but by the late 1930s his research included study of training and observation work. In 1938, he wrote to the Air Ministry noting that although George Drew's book gave brief accounts of a dozen airmen it ignored the "scores of others who made noteworthy contributions to the R.A.F. and who gave their lives in the cause, but whose names are today wholly unknown to Canadians." Hitchins wanted to account for their achievements, in part for the benefit of the "esprit de corps for the R.C.A.F. and the youth of Canada." It was a patriotic impulse spurred by events in Europe.

In May 1940 Fred Hitchins offered his services to the RCAF. In 1941 he received a commission and was made an instructor on the 'Link' trainer, helping to school new pilots as part of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. He was quickly transferred to the RCAF's historical section, where he worked under the direction of Wing Commander Kenneth B. Conn (1896-1984), a former first war aviator. Once there, Hitchens began researching the activities of the RCAF in the ongoing war.

The RCAF's AHS was tasked with compiling the history of the air force in the conflict against Axis forces. Its work included gathering day-to-day reports, producing broader studies and historical research, and chronicling the history of Canadians in the RAF. The decision to take Hitchins on staff was opportune and coincided with broadening the AHS's work to include a background history of the Great War in the air. Originally tasked with writing the history of Canadians in the RAF, Hitchins also took on the role of researching Canada's part during 1914-1919. He was in favour of first war analysis because he felt "no proper history of this war [could]

be given without due regard to the foundations of flying in Canada and by Canadians." This history was expected to provide a "brief survey" of prewar aeronautics, which was divided into seven parts:

i. offer of aviators with 1st contingent
ii. policy of O.M.F.C. vis a vis RFC, RNAS, RAF
iii. recruiting for RFC in Canada
iv. the RFC in Canada (inc. aircraft industries)
v. the C.A.F.
vi. the R.C.N.A.S.
vii. the work of Canadians in the RFC, RNAS & RAF

Additional subjects examined the period between 1918 and 1922 and included the demobilization of airmen, the nascent CAF, and establishment of the Air Board. The plan also proposed covering the reconstitution of the CAF/RCAF and its "growth, decline and renewed growth" from 1922 to 1939. Hitchins' primary goal for the wartime material was a "complete" compilation of the records "of all Canadians" who served in the flying services during the conflict. He understood that this was a monumental task, but argued that ignoring the airmen's contributions amounted to "a pie crust without any filling, or like erecting a building with only a blue print as a foundation." This research represented the first attempt to provide a comprehensive picture of Canada's air war by a Canadian historian.

For the next twenty-four months, Hitchins uncovered a remarkable amount of material. Although not immediately published, these sources and preliminary drafts eventually formed the foundation of Canada's official history of the air war. The majority of his research concerned the RFC in Canada and the role of Canadian airmen in Europe. Hitchins encountered few obstacles to his First World War work, but he did note "the absence of an adequate index or catalogue" of information. He also lamented that "some of the files requested were reported as 'destroyed' or 'unable' to trace." In 1941, Hitchins worked in files covering the establishment of the RFC in Canada, early efforts to open aircraft factories (in 1915), discussions of the IMB, and the policy decisions that culminated in the RFC Canada training scheme, a topic that presented "some interesting parallels to the J.A.T.P. (his reference for the BCATP)." He also discovered a file with an alphabetical list of decorated Canadian airmen, which was of "great value as a starting point" for further research.

Hitchins worked on a tight schedule. He never lost his interest in Canada's first war pilots, however, and if he was ever freed to work at leisure, he admitted that he would "never really be satisfied" until he tracked down the "particulars of the career of <u>every</u> individual Canadian." To that end, Hitchins used whatever opportunity he had to compile a card catalogue for each Canadian airman that served during the war. Though a massive undertaking, this was not Hitchins' primary research goal in Britain and he concentrated instead on producing as "well-rounded" a history as possible.

To make the most of his research time, he decided to forego writing in favour of collecting "as much raw material as I possibly could in the limited time I had." The first set of files, which Hitchins admitted

had heretofore been "unexamined," concerned correspondence and any minutes regarding Canadians "in general." Second, were the squadron records pertinent to individual Canadian airmen. These proved a "very voluminous" task, made easier because many of the airmen were still alive. Combined with existing profiles, such as George Drew's book (which he cited), this research was less dependent on "official records" and, as a result, Hitchins opted to focus his attention on the first set of files. It was an important decision that left the analysis of his findings until after the war, when the climate was less influenced by wartime xenophobia and propaganda.

Back in Canada, Hitchins worked sparingly on first war aviation. Efforts within the AHS were focused on the publication of the multi-volume series *The RCAF Overseas*. Upon completion of that series, the section began a multi-volume history of the RCAF, which planned to examine Canada's pioneer efforts in aviation, the First World War, the interwar period, and the Second World War. In 1945, Hitchins assumed control of the RCAF historical section, a position that allowed him to further shape the scope and material used in the proposed volumes. His proposal was reformatted over the coming years to give greater coverage to the "beginning of Canadian interest in aviation." This new plan divided its study of the air war into two complimentary parts: a study of the "war years" and a more detailed examination of "Canada's part in the War in the Air." The second section was further divided into a study of the British flying services and the "formation of the Canadian Air Force, 1918."

In June 1946, the outline for the history of the first air war further expanded. It was now slated to cover the first decade of Canadian flight and provisionally entitled "Aviation in Canada and Canadians in the Air Services (1909-1919)." A new title was selected, "The Origin of Canadian Military Aviation," which better reflected its direction and a final proposal was submitted to the Cabinet Defence Committee in September 1946. The AHS proposed a single volume examining the origins of Canada's military aviation, recruitment for the British flying services, training in Canada, and the history of Canadians in the RFC, RNAS, and RAF, and the RCNAS. In total, the outline called for an ambitious nine-volume publication, estimating that "at least a year will be required for the production of each volume."

The sheer size of the project nearly doomed it from the beginning. While official histories were never Ottawa's priority, the military's historical sections expanded along with the rest of the wartime bureaucracy. By 1947, however, cost cutting was the order of the day. Much to Hitchins' horror, all historical work was ordered complete by 1 April 1948. According to the historical section's former commander, Charles Perry Stacey (1906-1989), it was a "mistake" to plan such a large history, which was ultimately "shot down" by Defence Minister Brooke Claxton. Hitchins put up a fight, even arguing that an air force history was an important "cultural project" written for "the people of Canada." His appeal did not save the multi-volume project, but it did save his job, allowing him to stay on as air force historian and steward of the work already conducted.

As Air Historian, Hitchins' duties extended far beyond writing the official history. His job required supervision of the department, the formation of policy, supervision of the official histories and reports, custody and supervision of historical records, the supervision of reference libraries throughout the air force, and, among other duties, "functional control" of the service's war artists. Safeguarding the collection proved a full time position and Hitchins had little time to draft new material. He also found his work "constantly interrupted" by requests for information concerning unit histories and similar projects. Nonetheless, this did not stop him from adding to the Great War history whenever possible.

By the end of the 1940s, an expanded outline for the official history was firmed up. It would now take on two parts. Part A covered the prewar era, including early flights by J.A.D. McCurdy (1886-1961), military flights at Petawawa, and Ottawa's subsequent decision not to fund military aviation. Part B was an expanded

version of the earlier outline that again comprised seven parts:

(b) – First World War (1914-18).

i. Canadian Aviation Corps, of two pilots and one aircraft, formed by Minister of Militia and Defence to accompany 1st Cdn Contingent overseas; one pilot resigned and returned to Canada; second pilot killed in flying accident (Feb 1915); aircraft became "pile of junk".

ii. 1915-18, RFC and RNAS enrolled hundreds of recruits in Canada, many of whom obtained elementary training at Curtiss School in Toronto (1915-16).

iii. 1917-18, training establishment set up in Canada by RFC (RAF) at Camp Borden, Toronto, etc.

iv. Nov 1918, two all-Canadian squadrons formed in Britain, this first CAF continued in existence until Feb 1920.

v. Summer 1918, RCNAS formed in Canada for anti-submarine work; disbanded Dec 1919.

vi. approximately 22,000 Canadians served in RFC, RNAS and RAF; 1,565 killed; over 800 decorated (three received VC).

vii. 1919, UK government donated $5,000,000 of aircraft, spares and equipment to Canada.

Although it would take another thirty years to complete, a single volume analysis of Canada's First World War aerial history was finally underway.

The first volume of the RCAF's history remained unpublished until 1980. Without wartime funding, the AHS staff was reduced to two members, Hitchins and a secretary. Together they maintained the Air Force's archives and worked on releasing the final volumes of *The RCAF Overseas*, while also publishing smaller volumes such as *The RCAF Logbook*. Hitchins continued to compile information on Canada and the First World War, but was slowed by his clerical duties and the need to produce training and contextual

material for the RCAF. In 1959, he retired without completing a history of Canada's part in the air war of 1914-1918, though he did release an interwar history of the RCAF as part of the Canadian War Museum's *Mercury Series*.

In the years after his retirement, Hitchins put his AHS research to use by critiquing and analysing the air war in new ways. Hitchins lectured frequently on Canada and the air war of 1914-1918. He also published a series of brief articles and essays examining Canada's aerial history. These argued for recognizing the size of Canada's aerial commitment and he made a point of broadening his audience's understanding of the air war. Instead of focusing on the aces, Hitchins referred to the 3,135 pilots who trained in Canada and the nearly 25,000 Canadian officers, cadets, and airmen who served in the RFC, RNAS, and RAF.

He also recognized the myths surrounding Canada's airmen: "One of the problems in history is, of course, to separate myth and legend from fact. And already myth has grown up in the history of Canadian aviation." Hitchins explanation for this myth was simple; the aces had usurped regular airmen for the public's interest:

> It was as fighter pilots that Canadian airmen won their greatest fame – 10 of the top 25 'aces' of the British air services were Canadians, but important as this work of the fighter pilots the floodlight of publicity which shone, and still shines, on the 'aces' has tended to leave the other, more basic roles of the air services in the shadows.

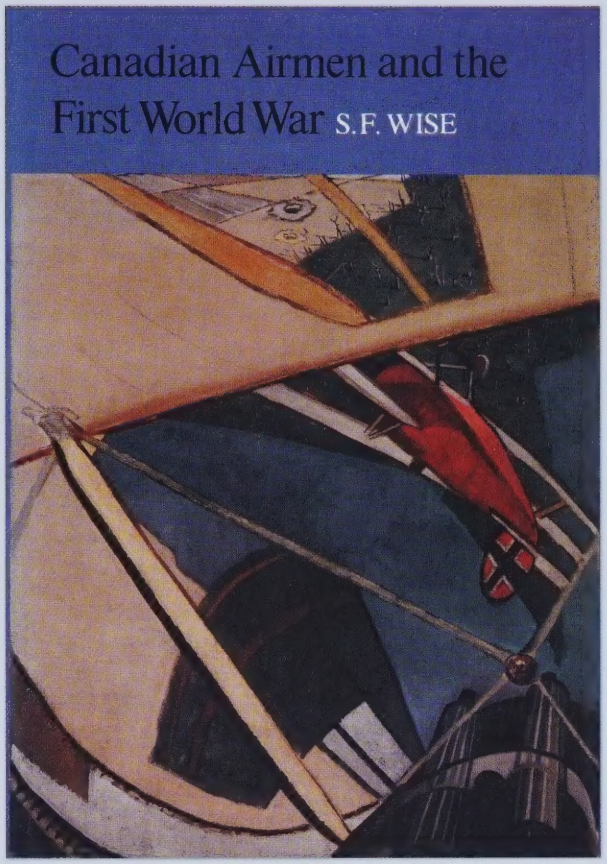
When discussing such myths, Hitchins broadened his analysis to include their ramifications, arguing that they reflected a widely held view "that for the last 60 years every little Canadian has been born with a set of wings on his shoulders." Hitchins' goal was not to deconstruct this mythology. Instead, he took pride in the achievements of the country's airmen and he repurposed the aerial myth as means to provide a more comprehensive version of Canada's air war.

Upon retirement, Hitchins was replaced by Wing Commander Ralph Manning, who led the AHS until is ceased to exist in 1965. At that point, unification of the Canadian Armed Forces merged the RCAF AHS with its Army and Naval counterparts. The new body, the Directorate of History, was headed by C.P. Stacey, who worked to get the Air Force history moving along. Under the directorship of Sydney Wise (1924-2007), the first volume of *The Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force, Canadian Airmen and the First World War* was finally published. The volume was testament to Hitchins' research. Its six-part structure echoed his earlier draft work, including a focus on prewar aviation, the development of a Canadian training and air policy, naval aviation, and the air war in Europe and Canadian contributions to it. Wise's conclusion, "Towards the Establishment of a Canadian Air Force," also mirrored Hitchins' original plan to cover the proposal, establishment, and growth of the RCAF up to 1939. Appendices examining the role of Canadian airmen who served in other theatres of war and as part of the British intervention in Russia were also included, along with a statistical breakdown of Canadians in the flying services. These sections outlined the provincial

origin, urban and rural split, enlistment figures, and casualties of Canadian participation in the air war. The history that emerges is unconcerned with the mythologization of the country's fighter pilots. In the myth's place, is a description of Canadian airmen that links Canada's wartime efforts with the country's pre-war and postwar aviation history.

Hitchins' influence on the first volume RCAF official history went beyond merely framing its overall structure. The bombing of archives in Britain during the Blitz destroyed documents related to Canada's air war and the files Hitchins copied represent the only source for parts of the official history's conclusions. His research also helped to determine how many Canadians had served in the air war. Because Canadian pilots did not work as part of a cohesive national air force, their history was tied directly to that of the British flying services. Accordingly, a history of Canada's airmen, *Canadian Airmen and the First World War* had to re-write the history of the British flying services to include Canadian participation. Without his card index file recording Canada's pilots, this task would have been impossible. Most importantly, Hitchins influence lay in the decision to expand the RCAF's history, which technically began in 1924 and could conceivably have omitted Canada's first aerial war in its entirety.

Fred Hitchins deserves credit for preserving copies of critical documents pertaining to early Canadian aviation history. This personal initiative was very much akin to Arthur Doughty's stewardship of the physical remnants of the Great War – the war trophy collection. Hitchin's successor was a combat veteran



The cover of the first volume of the RCAF official history, S.F. Wise's *Canadian Airmen and the First World War*, which depicts J.A. Turnbull's "Red Air Fighter." Artists like Turnbull and C.R.W. Nevinson struggled with how to depict the dynamism of aerial dogfights. (Source - Private Collection)

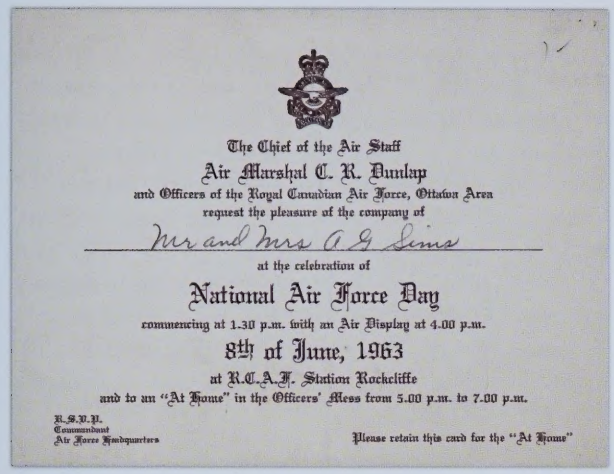
from the Second World War, Wing Commander Ralph Manning. In some ways, Manning occupied Hitchin's office but filled Doughty's shoes, at least with respect to creating a home for the aircraft Sir

Arthur collected and housed. Manning oversaw the creation of a National Aeronautical Collection (NAC) at Rockcliffe by consolidating the historical aircraft at the CWM, including the A.E.G. and Junkers, with several dozen Second World War aircraft that were preserved by the RCAF. By this time, the interwar NRC Museum had evolved into a small National Aviation Museum and its holdings also became part of the NAC. After the RCAF and its Historical Section ceased to exist in 1967, the NAC was taken over by the Museum of Science and Technology, where it evolved into the Canada Aviation and Space Museum.

Shortly after he took over the position of air historian in 1961, W/C Manning noted that the Air Council had decided to establish a central museum at Rocklife, similar to the USAF Museum in Dayton, Ohio. By March 1962, the air historian was given control of museum policy and he hoped "to get some of our museum aircraft on display soon, even if for only a special occasion such as National Air Force Day (NAFD)." It was recognized that a Canadian equivalent to Dayton could not be created overnight, but as a first step, he used NAFD celebrations at Rockliffe as a venue to display historic aircraft in the possession of the RCAF. Between 1962 and 1965 this temporary summertime display grew both in size and duration, ultimately including aircraft from the Brome County Historical Society, the Canadian War Museum, the early National Aviation Museum at Uplands, and the RCAF. There was considerable public interest in these displays. In 1963, a smaller Air Force Day display at Trenton attracted more than 30,000 people. The national celebrations in Ottawa had an even larger attendance. Such positive responses helped strengthen support for establishing a permanent air force collection under the guidance of the Air Historian.

The Air Council outlined a vision for a national Air Force museum to preserve and champion the history of military aviation in Canada. From the outset, documentation from the Air Force alluded to the fact that such an institution should be housed at RCAF Station Rockcliffe. This made sense for two reasons; first, hangar space was expected to become available in 1964; and secondly, the site itself had been one of the first air stations set up by the Canadian Air Board, after its establishment in 1919. W/C Manning spent several years making the required administrative arrangements, with both his RCAF superiors and the relevant deputy ministers, to secure the use of hangars at Rockcliffe.

To reinforce the importance of Air Force history, and to share it with a larger audience, the historic aircraft assembled for NADF in Rockcliffe remained on public display for the entire summer. This happened first, for a short period, in 1963, and for a longer period the following year. The positive response to both displays helped buttress Manning's arguments for consolidating the historic aircraft belonging to the CWM, NAM and RCAF at Rockcliffe. In the spring of 1964, three of the double-bay, Second World War-era hangars at Rockcliffe were allocated for just that purpose. Two were earmarked for the RCAF's collection of wartime aircraft and the third would house specimens from the CWM and the NAM. The last Air Force Day celebration was held



The Chief of the Air Staff
Air Marshal C. R. Dunlap
and Officers of the Royal Canadian Air Force, Ottawa Area
request the pleasure of the company of
Mr and Mrs A G Sims
at the celebration of
National Air Force Day
commencing at 1.30 p.m. with an Air Display at 4.00 p.m.
8th of June, 1963
at R.C.A.F. Station Rockcliffe
and to an "At Home" in the Officers' Mess from 5.00 p.m. to 7.00 p.m.
R.S.V.P.
Commandant
Air Force Headquarters
Please retain this card for the "At Home"

The National Air Force Day celebrations in Ottawa, during 1962 and 1963, were essentially test runs by Wing Command Ralph Manning of the RCAF Historical Section, for an eventual national Air Force Museum. Due to the unfortunate timing of the unification of the armed forces, this did not transpire as he had hoped. Rather, the aircraft formed the National Aeronautical Collection, which ultimately evolved into the modern Canada Aviation and Space Museum. (Source - Private Collection)

at Rockcliffe on 1 July 1964, after which the recently consolidated collection remained on display until early September. That winter, W/C Manning chaired the last planning meetings regarding the historic aircraft now consolidated in Rockcliffe. The title "National Aeronautical Collection" (NAC) was first publicly used to describe this world-class assemblage of aeroplanes when the Minister of National Defence, Paul Hellyer (b. 1923), officially opened the Rockcliffe exhibition on 21 May 1965.

In his memoirs, Hellyer refers to 1 August 1964 as the "red-letter day when the RCN, the Canadian Army and the RCAF came under integrated management – integrated, not yet unified." The RCAF Historical Section was part of Air Force Headquarters, under the Chief of Personnel Services (CPS), and thus was to be similarly integrated as part of the newly created National Defence Headquarters (NDHQ). It was not until mid-1965 that the Air Historian's office was actually merged into a tri-service Directorate of History. Under the guidance of C.P. Stacey, the amalgamation went smoothly. By 1966, Stacey returned to his teaching post at the University of Toronto, leaving Sydney Wise at the helm of the new directorate.

As professional academic historians, Stacey and Wise both came from a background more akin to that of Fred Hitchins than Ralph Manning. It is not surprising, therefore, that Stacey felt production of the long-awaited RCAF official history should be a core job for the new DHist, which would fill "a thoroughly disgraceful gap in the national historiography." Yet, despite Stacey securing authority to proceed with the Air Force Official History in 1966, it would be fifteen years before Wise published the first volume. In the final years of the RCAF Historical Section, W/C Ralph Manning placed a clear emphasis on the establishment and implementation of Air Force Museum policy, rather than the preparation of written histories. He realized that his forte, museum policy, was not going to be a priority in the new DHist. As a result, Manning elected to retire from the RCAF and promptly took up the position of deputy director at the CWM under L.F. Murray, where he remained into the 1980s. In that role, he was able to foster the preservation of air force culture and history through displays at the war museum, even if they were not on the scale that

was intended in a national Royal Canadian Air Force Museum (RCAFM) at Rockcliffe.

With Ralph Manning's retirement from the RCAF, and the dissolution of the Air Force Historical Section, L.F. Murray of the CWM and Ken Molson of the NAM were left to steer the direction of the NAC. In 1967, flying displays were organized with a handful of NAC aircraft at Rockcliffe as part of the Centennial celebrations. In some respects, these displays were a natural evolution of the NAFD celebrations that Manning had organized from 1962 to 1964. During his final days as the air historian, and as a new deputy director at the CWM, Manning helped with the planning of the Centennial Air Display. After the celebrations of 1967, the collection in Rockcliffe came under the control of the National Museum of Science and Technology (NMST), and along with Molson's NAM, took on the title "Aviation and Space Division." Eventually, the whole of the NMST's aviation assets, the vast majority of which came from the Rockcliffe-based NAC, became informally known as the National Aviation Museum.

In his history of the collection at Rockcliffe, Ken Molson suggests that the modern Canada Aviation and Space Museum (CAvSM) was a natural outgrowth of the early National Aviation Museum, formed under his leadership at Uplands in 1960. He acknowledges Manning's role in securing hangar space at Rockcliffe and in bringing the RCAF's Second World War aircraft to the station, but makes no mention of how Manning shepherded this project of commemoration on behalf of the Air Force.

The contemporary CAvSM in Rockcliffe has since grown beyond Manning's original goal of an Air Force museum, to encompass the whole breadth of Canadian aviation history. Even so, the military portions of the collection remain a powerful and historically valuable tribute to military aviation in Canada, before, during, and after the period of the RCAF's original existence from 1924 to 1968. The CAvSM's blend of historic civilian and military aircraft, preserved on a site with considerable air force history, is a testament to the efforts of Ralph Manning and the RCAF Historical Section.

CONCLUSION

In 1914, aeroplanes evolved to break the stalemate of the Western Front. Two-seat reconnaissance aircraft, with unprecedented flexibility at gathering intelligence, proved the workhorses for this effort. Training, careful observation, and close co-operation with ground troops and the artillery was paramount. Canada's contribution to these operations was two-fold. On the home front, southern Ontario played host to the first international flight-training program and a nationalized aviation industry through Canadian Aeroplanes Limited. Overseas, thousands of airmen took to the skies over France and Flanders. By 1919, Canada's pilots, engineers, mechanics, and designers (many with ties to the University of Toronto and the surrounding city) proved integral to the course of the war. These achievements fuelled a postwar aviation boom that ushered in a new wave of industry, transport, and exploration.

Popular memory rarely remembers this history. Its focus remains the famous 'aces', Canada's 'Knights of the Air'. This romantic portrayal of the war's aviators was first used in the wartime allied press, as a distraction from the horrors of trench warfare. The broader conflict may have reduced war to mechanized slaughter, but at least airmen continued to champion notions of gallant warriors. In reality, this constructed picture bore little resemblance to the brutality of aerial combat. Yet, the narrative of Canadian airmen in the Great War has largely remained true to this literary pattern established during the war itself.

Canadian libraries, archives, and museums are home to a wealth of material that chronicles a different side to the history of early Canadian aeronautics. This exhibition draws on samples of such sources to illustrate neglected aspects of early Canadian aviation. In place of mythical Knights of the Air, the exhibit's focus is the lived reality of the air war, both at home and overseas. Uncovering the forgotten origins, and tracing the subsequent history, of this material reveals changing attitudes towards the air war, the purpose of Canada's collections, and their place in the broader memory of the Great War.

The origin of these collections can be traced to 1915 and to two individuals in particular. One was Arthur Doughty, Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Record. Despite his official title, during the war, Doughty found his responsibility for Canadian records usurped by a man Tim Cook, First World War Historian at the Canadian War Museum, describes as a "mischievous millionaire gnome." That gnome was none other than Sir Max Aitken, later Lord Beaverbrook. He was an irrepressible character and, in terms of shaping Canadian memory and historical sources, two of his projects stand out. In 1916, Beaverbrook established the Canadian War Records Office, which compiled an extensive, documentary, photographic, and film record of the war. To this major undertaking, he also added the Canadian War Memorials Fund, a body designed to portray and commemorate Canada's part in the war. He remained at the helm of both operations until the end of the war, despite a considerable involvement in British politics that resulted in his elevation to the peerage in 1917.

The Canadian Corps added to this documentary record when it captured thousands of pieces of German equipment. From the standpoint of the surviving collection, Arthur Doughty was essential to the procurement and protection of these trophies and it was for good reason that his contemporaries praised his "abilities as a collector." From his earliest involvement with the trophies, the Dominion Archivist remained steadfast that the most interesting material must be reserved for a Canadian War Museum in Ottawa. At the same time, he was well aware of their immediate value to the war effort on the home front. Some of the early trophies were thus compiled into travelling displays to raise funds for war related charities, to galvanize public opinion in support of the war effort, and to promote the achievements of Canadian troops on the battlefield. Doughty's collection undoubtedly celebrated leading Canadian pilots like William Barker and Billy Bishop. But its creation and subsequent preservation embody a history of broader experience that encompassed industry, education, and the various roles played by aeroplanes in the First World War. The trophy aeroplanes were central to these travelling exhibitions, and even more so the larger displays in the second half of 1919, which foreshadowed the Hall of Trophies Doughty planned to organize if plans for a memorial museum in Ottawa were executed.

Canada's memorial museum was never built by its original champions, but its intended collection lives on in institutions across the county. The CWM, the CAvSM, the NGC, LAC, the BCHS and a host of other institutions ultimately inherited portions of the material and documentary record of Canada's participation in the Great War. Over the last ninety years, archivists, librarians, and historians have evaluated, utilized, and preserved this diverse range of primary sources. The result of their collaborative actions and interpretations has shaped the historical record of early Canadian aviation. And yet, this rich record has not been fully reflected in the relevant historiography. Apart from rare exceptions, such as Fred Hitchins, the academy has turned a blind eye to the topic of early Canadian aeronautics. Absent its rigor, much of the resulting literature has evolved very little over the last ninety years.

Eric Dumigan took this photo of the Fokker D.VII (Alb.) 6810/18 inside the Brome County Historical Society's "Martin Annex" in 2014. Nearly a century after it was produced, it is the only original Fokker D.VII in the world to retain its original lozenge fabric. Despite the conservation conducted by the RCAF in 1963, the aircraft remains essentially unrestored and immensely valuable as a primary source for researchers. (Source - Eric Dumigan)

The archival record remains the primary means through which historians reconstruct the past. Using the Great War as a case study, Robert McIntosh compared the impact of strategies used by Beaverbook and Doughty in the "production and reproduction of the archival record – the flux in the documentary landscape" – arguing that these issues "warrant the same close scrutiny from archivists that the writing of history has received from historians." There is considerable value in research that straddles these two fields, as illustrated by studies such as Tim Cook's *Clio's Warriors* (2006), which scrutinizes the history of the war's documentary record, especially the writing of Canadian Official Histories. Despite the centrality of archival records to the historian's work, their research should not end with textual sources.

Historians can utilize non-traditional primary sources such as artefacts, art, photographs—even the landscape—to create a richer picture of the past. The information gained from such analysis allows the historian to step back into the world of a document's author to produce more nuanced analysis. Such an approach echoes John Keegan's (1934-2012) suggestion that historians should "get away from papers and walk around his subject wherever he can find traces of it," which is all the more vital when a period has passed from living memory. Written documents remain the core source on which historians rely, but an intimate knowledge of the cultures, the landscape, and the tangible remnants tied to a given subject adds immeasurably to our historical understanding. Indeed, Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker address this point specifically in terms of artefacts from the Great War:

> It is striking how many historians, though they profess to be discussing war, are cut off from areas of relevant knowledge. Weapons, for example – how they are used, how they work, and what effect they have – are outside the competence of most of them, while military historians who may be learned about weaponry [often] don't know how to apply their knowledge. So one cannot exaggerate the value of having at least some concrete knowledge of the instruments of violence; tactile contact with them is not a superfluous historical experience … A vast store of empirical knowledge is available and often within immediate grasp.

Effective analysis of non-textual, yet invaluable primary sources such as artefacts and photographs, often requires the technical knowledge, which Keegan, Audoin-Rouseau, and Becker allude to. This exhibit's analysis of war trophy aeroplanes, as a lens into the early years of Canadian aeronautics, puts this theory into practice.

Both the exhibition and this catalogue are as much a study of sources as a story of airmen and aeroplanes. Displayed at the Fisher are a range of archival documents, published pamphlets, original artifacts, and period photographs that have been used to explore the methods of those who first created this historical record. Despite this rich cache of primary sources, consciously collected during and after the war, the bibliography of early

aviation in Canada has only drawn on these sources intermittently. On the whole, the books on display demonstrate how pervasive and enduring the myth of Canadian Knights of the Air has been. It is our hope that historians will look through the myth, not purely for the sake of revision, but to cast light on a far more interesting and informative narrative – the fascinating and important story of Canada's early aviation heritage.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

German Aeronautical Abbreviations

A.E.G.	Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft
Alb.	Albatros Werke G.m.b.H.
Av.	Automobil und Aviatik A.G.
BMW	Bayerische Motoren Werke A.G.
DFW	Deutsche Flugzeug-Werke G.m.b.H.
Fok.	Fokker Flugzeug-Werk G.m.b.H
Fdh.	Flugzeubau Friedrichshafen G.m.b.H. Manzell
Go.	Gothaer Waggonfabrick A.G. Gotha
Halb.	Halberstädter Flugzeug-Werke G.m.b.H.
Han.	Hannoversche Waggonfabrik A.G.
Idflieg	Inspektion der Fliegertruppen
Junk.	Junkers Flugzegu-Werke A.G
LVG	Luft-Verkehrs Geselleshaft m.b.H. Johannisthal
OAW	Ostdeutsche Albatros Werke
Pfal.	Pfalz Flugzeug-Werke G.m.b.H. Speyer am Rhein
Rol.	Luftfahrzeug Gesellschaft m.b.H. Berlin-Charlottenburg (Rol.)
Ru.	Rumpler Flugzeug-Werke G.m.b.H. Johannisthal
ZAK	Zentralabnahme-Kommission

Other Abbreviations

AEF	American Expeditionary Force
AFC	Australian Flying Corps
AM	Air Ministry (British)
ASD	Aeroplane Supply Depot
ASPC	Air Service Production Centre
AWM	Australian War Memorial
AWRS	Australian War Records Section
BCHS	Brome County Historical Society
CAF	Canadian Air Force
CAHS	Canadian Aviation Historical Society
CAvM	Canada Aviation Museum
CBAI	Canadian Bureau of Aeronautical Information
CBMC	Canadian Battlefield Memorials Commission
CEF	Canadian Expeditionary Force
CNE	Canadian National Exhibition
CNR	Canadian National Railway
CWM	Canadian War Museum
CWMF	Canadian War Memorials Fund
CWRO	Canadian War Records Office
DAS	Director of Air Services (at the OMFC)
EA	Enemy Aircraft
IAFC	Imperial Air Fleet Committee
IMB	Imperial Munitions Board
IWM	Imperial War Museum
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
MD	Military District
NA (UK)	National Archives of the United Kingdom
NAC	National Aeronautical Collection (Canada)
NAM	National Aviation Museum (Canada)
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration (United States)
NGC	National Gallery of Canada
NRC	National Research Council (Canada)
OMFC	Ministry of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada (also OMF of C)
PAC	Public Archives of Canada
PC	Privy Council
RAF	Royal Air Force
RCAF	Royal Canadian Air Force
RFC	Royal Flying Corps
RNAS	Royal Naval Air Service
U of T	University of Toronto
UWO	University of Western Ontario
VC	Victoria Cross

SOURCES

Archives & Libraries

Archives of Ontario

City of Toronto Archives

Directorate of History and Heritage

Library Archives Canada

McGill University Archives

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

University of Toronto Archives

University of Western Ontario, Archival Research Collections Centre

Artwork

Johnston, Francis (Franz). "Looking into the Blue, School of Aerial Gunnery, and Cadets on Artillery Observation-smoke Puffs Below"

Maurice, James. "Canadians in the Snow"

Nevinson, C.R.W. "War in the Air"

Smith, Russell. "Spoils of War"

Turnbull, J.A. "The Red Air Fighter and Dogfight"

Newspapers, Magazines, & Journals

Aeroplane Magazine

AAHS Journal

Aviation News

CAHS: The Journal of the Canadian Aviation Historical Society

Canadian War Pictorial

Cross and Cockade Great Britain

Cross and Cockade International

Cornwall Standard

The Daily British Whig (Kingston)

Edmonton Morning Bulletin

The Gateway (University of Alberta)

The Gazette (Montreal)

The Globe (Toronto)

The Hamilton Daily Times

The Hamilton Herald

The Hamilton Spectator

The Kingston Standard

Literary Digest

Maclean's

The Ottawa Journal

The Roundel

Saturday Review

Township Sun

Who's Who in American Aeronautics

Pamphlets & Catalogues

Canadian War Records Office, "Canadian War Memorials Exhibition" (1919)

Reports

The Armistice Agreement and Related Documents

Report of the Ministry: Overseas Military Forces of Canada, 1918. London: 1918

Books & Journal Articles

Aitken, Max. *Canada in Flanders: Volume I of the Official Story of the Canadian Expeditionary Force.* Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, 1916.

Audoin-Rouzeau, Stéphane and Becker, Annette. *1914 -1918 Understanding the Great War*, trans. Catherine Temerson. London: Profile, 2002.

Berger, Carl. *Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.

Bishop, W.A. "Aircraft", *Addresses Delivered Before The Canadian Club of Montreal, Season 1917-1918.* Montreal: John Lovell & Sons, Ltd., 1919.

Brandon, Laura and Oliver, Dean. *Canvas of War: Painting the Canadian Experience, 1914-1945.* Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 2000.

Burpee, Lawrence, J. *Canada in the Great War, Volume V: The Triumph of the Allies.* Toronto: United Publishers of Canada, 1920.

Canada. House of Commons. *Debates.* May 1919.

Collishaw, Raymond. *The Black Flight: The Memoir of Legendary First World War Fighter Ace Raymond Collishaw CB, DSO, DSC, DFC.* Ottawa: CEF Books, 2008.

Cook, Tim. *Clio's Warriors: Canadian Historians and the Writing of the World Wars.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006.

Cook, Tim. *Shock Troops: Canadians Fighting the Great War 1917 – 1918.* Toronto: Penguin, 2008.

Crowell, Benedict and Wilson, Robert Forrest. *Demobilization: Our Industrial and Military Demobilization after the Armistice, 1918-1920.* New Haven: Yale, 1921.

Cutlack, F.M. *The Australian Flying Corps in the Westen and Eastern Theatres of War 1914-1918, Official History of Australia in the War of 1914 –1918, vol. VIII.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1923.

Davis, Peter. *Airfield Focus 43: Upper Heyford Revisited.* Peterborough: GMS Enterprises, 2005.

Dempsey, Daniel V. *A Tradition of Excellence: Canada's Airshow Team Heritage.* Victoria: High Flight, 2002.

Douglas, W.A.B. *The Creation of a National Air Force.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.

Drew, George. *Canada's Fighting Airmen.* Toronto: Maclean, 1930.

Fuller, George A., Griffin, J.A., Molson, K.M. *125 Years of Canadian Aeronautics: A Chronology 1840 – 1965.* Willowdale: CAHS, 1983.

Glazebrook, G.P. de T. *Sir Edmund Walker.* London: Oxford University Press, 1933.

Graves, Don. "The Propose Saskatchewan War Memorial Museum," *Organization of Military Museums of Canada Journal* 7 (1978-79).

Hellyer, Paul. *Damn the Torpedoes: My Fight to Unify Canada's Armed Forces.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990.

Hitchins, F.H. *Air Board, Canadian Air Force and Royal Canadian Air Force*, National Museum of Man: Mercury Series, Canadian War Museum Paper No. 2. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1972.

Keegan, John. *The Face of Battle.* New York: Viking, 1976.

Marion, Norm., ed. *Camp Borden: Birthplace of the RCAF.* Borden: Kromar, 1999.

McIntosh, Robert. "The Great War, Archives, and Modern Memory." *Archivaria* 46 (1998).

Molson, Kenneth M. *Canada's National Aviation Museum: Its History and Collection.* Ottawa: NAM, 1988.

Morton, Desmond. *A Peculiar Kind of Politics: Canada's Overseas Ministry in the First World War.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Moss, Mark. *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Newbolt, Henry. *Tales of the Great War.* London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1916.

Ogley, Bob. *Biggin on the Bump.* Margate: Thanet Gate, 1990.

Pulsifer, Cameron. "Collections of the CWM: An Historical Resource" *Canadian Military History* 2 no. 2 (1993).

Ralph, Wayne. *William Barker VC: The Life, Death & Legend of Canada's Most Decorated War Hero*, 2nd ed. Mississauga: Wiley, 2007.

Reid, John G. *Mount Allison University: A History to 1963, vol. II.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

Ryan, Richard W. *From Boxkite to Boardroom.* Moosejaw: Grand Valley Press, nd.

Sassoon, Siegfried. *The War Poems of Siegfried Sassoon.* London: Faber & Faber, 1983.

Schreiber, Shane. *Shock Army of the British Empire.* St Catherines: Vanwell, 2004.

Shores, Christopher, Franks, Norman, and Guest, Russell. *Above the Trenches: A Complete Record of the Fighter Aces and Units of the British Empire Air Forces 1915-1920.* London: Grub Street: 1990.

Soye, Edward Peter. "Canadian War Trophies: Arthur Doughty and German Aircraft Allocated to Canada after the First World War" MA Thesis, Kingston: Royal Military College, 2009.

Stacey, C.P. *A Date with History: Memoirs of a Canadian Historian.* Ottawa: Deneau, 1982.

Sullivan, Alan. *Aviation in Canada, 1917-1918: Being a Brief Account of the Work of the Royal Air Force Canada the Aviation Department of the Imperial Munitions Board and the Canadian Aeroplanes Limited.* Toronto: Rous & Mann Ltd., 1919.

Taylor, A.J.P. *Beaverbrook.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972.

Tippett, Maria. *Art at the Service of War.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

United States Army in the World War 1917-1919: The Armistice Agreement and Related Documents, Vol. 10. Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1948.

Vance, Jonathan. *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War.* Vancouver, UBC Press, 1997.

Wallace, Stewart W. *The Memoirs of The Rt. Hon. Sir George Foster.* Toronto: MacMillan, 1933.

Wilson, Ian E. "'A Noble Dream' The Origins of the Public Archives of Canada," *Archivaria* 15 (1982).

Wise, S.F. *Canadian Airmen and the First World War: The Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force, Volume I.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Wynne, H. Hugh. *The Motion Picture Stunt Pilots and Hollywood's Classic Aviation Movies.* Missoula: Pictorial Histories, 1987.

Canada's Great War aviators are famous for being gallant fighter pilots. Their legacy derives as much from their skills as airmen as their victory scores. Whether because of Canada's harsh climate, its clean air, or its sweeping wilderness, these airmen – men like Billy Bishop and William Barker – seemed destined to become 'aces'. The perpetuation of this narrative comes at the expense of less gallant, but more germane topics such as army co-operation, flight training, and post-war aviation. Yet, this static historical canon notwithstanding, Canadian museums, libraries, and archives possess an impressively broad array of sources that challenge these entrenched notions of Canada's first air war. This exhibit examines the origin of this material, the evolution of institutions responsible for its custody, and the ways that historians have navigated the topic – with or without the help of this diverse wealth of documents, artefacts, images and art.

$20.00

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto